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**RACE ATTITUDES IN
SOUTH AFRICA**

**HISTORICAL, EXPERIMENTAL AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES**

RACE ATTITUDES IN SOUTH AFRICA

HISTORICAL, EXPERIMENTAL AND
PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDIES

By

I. D. MACCRONE

*Professor of Psychology
in the University of the Witwatersrand*

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PREFACE

THE racial situation, as it exists in South Africa to-day, has become almost an obsession in the minds of many both within, as well as to some extent beyond, the borders of the Union. And for a very good reason, since the problems arising out of that situation are not only of immediate, personal significance in the lives of all the inhabitants of the country, irrespective of their skin colour, but involve certain principles which have hitherto been regarded as fundamental to the civilization of which the European in South Africa is at present the chief representative. Just what the fate of those principles is to be, confronted as they are by an unprecedented racial situation, it is impossible to say; but there can be little doubt that their application and 'adaptation', so far as these can be controlled, will have to be left in the hands of the people of South Africa themselves—the 'man on the spot' in this case being the European South African, such as he is and what there is of him.

To the pessimistic observer this prospect appears to have in store the eclipse of any principle whatsoever—including even that of enlightened self-interest. But if we can succeed in avoiding the wish which quite evidently fathers the pessimist's thinking, we may find ample evidence in support of the view that, while a doctrinaire adhesion to principle has no future in South Africa, there is a very good chance that some solution will be found in terms of a more realistic and progressive application of those principles which are professed by all enlightened men. Otherwise, of course, it would be misleading to speak of a 'solution'.

It is for this reason that the racial situation in South Africa has a peculiar significance for all those who are interested in race contacts and race relations, and in the problems which follow in their wake. The studies which constitute this book were undertaken in the belief that the social attitudes (on the part of the European) which underlie these race contacts and race relations—as part cause and part effect—are a very important element in the total situation, and that they cannot simply be ignored or brushed aside by dismissing them as a form of race or colour prejudice. Merely as psychological phenomena, these attitudes deserve a better fate; but if, as I believe, they constitute the underlying reality of the racial situation as it exists for the European at the present time, then the sooner these attitudes are subjected to as thorough and as objective an investigation as possible, the greater is the likelihood that the

situation itself will become more clear to all concerned. Social attitudes of the kind that are dealt with in this book may be very stubborn things, and perhaps nowhere else are they as stubborn as in South Africa or so engrained into the very texture of its white inhabitants. Any approach to the so-called native problem which fails to take these psychological facts into serious consideration is bound to fail for lack of contact with the realities of the local situation.

It must be confessed that in South Africa racial prejudices of all kinds find a happy hunting-ground, and that for the social psychologist who wishes to study this fauna at close range in all its variety and richness it would be difficult to find a more favourable region. Contacts between English and Dutch, between Jew and Gentile, between White and Black, between Bantu, Cape Coloured, and Indian, have all, without exception, proved to be fertile breeding-grounds for those social attitudes which are so inadequately described as 'race' or 'colour' prejudices. In the interest of his own investigations, however, the student would be well advised to confine himself, as far as possible, to the modest role of fact-finder and to leave to others the more exciting and, for South Africans certainly, the more congenial parts of 'negrophobist' and 'negrophilist'. In any case, in the absence of reliable knowledge of the origin, nature, and distribution of the phenomena in question, any discussion of the contemporary racial problem in South Africa is likely only to engender more heat than light.

This book, then, represents an attempt to deal with one aspect of a many-sided problem, and more particularly with that aspect of it vulgarly known as 'colour prejudice'. That there is more in it than meets the eye and that any theory 'of the first look' must necessarily prove inadequate, will, it is hoped, become clear to every one who has the patience to read through the book up to, and including, the final chapter. Where so much that is controversial is involved and where the issues dealt with are so very lively, it is not anticipated for a moment that there will be even general agreement either about the methods of treatment or the results and conclusions arrived at. On the other hand, it is hoped that the disagreement will not be too complete, since the book, after all, is meant to be a serious and scientific contribution to a very vexed problem. It has been written throughout in as objective a spirit as possible, and with a view not to defending or condemning certain attitudes but to understanding them.

To avoid misunderstanding on one important point that might needlessly affront the feelings of certain readers, it should be mentioned that the term 'myth', where it occurs in the text on page 280,

has been used in a strictly technical sense, namely, to connote, not something unreal or purely fictional, but a system of beliefs accepted by a group concerning its own living past, even though not all that is believed is, in the narrow sense, 'historical'. And for the kind of behaviour in which the psychologist is interested it is not what things are but what they are believed to be that really matters.

The following data, supplied by the courtesy of the Director, Office of Census and Statistics, Pretoria, should assist the reader in forming some idea of the racial composition and distribution of the population of the Union of South Africa. They are based upon the preliminary results of the 1936 Census, revised to October 15th, 1936. They show that the total population of the Union is 9,588,665. Of this total, 2,003,512, or 20.9 per cent., are Europeans; 6,597,241, or 68.8 per cent., are Natives or Bantu; 767,984, or 8.0 per cent., are Coloured; and 219,928, or 2.3 per cent., are Asiatics. Of the European population, Jews number over 102,000, or approximately 5.1 per cent., while of the remainder the majority is Afrikaans-speaking, numbering probably well over one million. By far the greater number of the English-speaking section of the European population is South African born, and the same applies, though not quite to the same extent, to the Jewish section. All the members of the Afrikaans-speaking section of the European population are born in South Africa. The 'Cape Coloured' constitute the bulk of the Coloured population, but there is also a substantial minority of Cape Malays, as well as a few odd groups such as Griquas, Hottentots, Bushmen, St. Helenians, and others. About 99 per cent. of the Asiatics are Indians of whom nearly all have been born in South Africa. Of the total European population, 1,307,285 are urban and 696,227 are rural, the majority of the latter being Afrikaans-speaking; of the total Native population, 1,149,228 are urban and 5,448,013 are rural; of the total Coloured population, 414,112 are urban and 353,872 are rural; and of the total Asiatic population, 145,699 are urban and 74,229 are rural.

It remains to acknowledge some of my obligations, which are many and heavy. Wherever possible these have been specified in the text; but I would like to add that the chief aim of none of these studies could have been realized without the assistance of the historical Record, including the *Afschriften*, of Moodie, compiled now nearly a century ago; or of the experimental technique for measuring social attitudes devised by L. L. Thurstone; or of the psycho-analytic approach to the study of the behaviour of the individual as a member of a group. Among those to whom I am

personally indebted for assistance, I would like to mention Mr. C. Graham Botha, M.A., Chief Archivist of the Union, for his kindly encouragement of a new-comer to historical research, as well as Miss M. K. Jeffreys, M.A., and Mr. P. J. Venter, M.A., of the staff of the Union Archives, Capetown, for the interest which they displayed and for several valuable historical references; Professor J. L. M. Franken, of the University of Stellenbosch, for his willingness to elucidate certain points of early Cape history; the Librarian and Staff of the Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, for their unflagging assistance in securing books and periodicals; Professor C. Chris. Coetsee of the Potchefstroom University College, Dr. E. H. Wild of the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, and Dr. O. C. Jensen of the South African Native College, Fort Hare, for their invaluable help in obtaining experimental data; my colleagues, Professors L. Fouché, L. F. Maingard, and C. M. van den Heever, for comments and advice in preparing the text for publication; in particular, also, Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé, whose sustained interest made these studies appear worth while; and, last but by no means least, all those students who submitted more or less cheerfully to being imposed upon *causa scientiae*.

Finally, I wish to express my appreciation of the generosity of the Council and Senate of the University in providing the grant required for publication, and of the action of Principal H. R. Raikes, who found the time, in spite of more pressing claims, to make the final arrangements for publication.

I. D. MACCRONE.

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA.

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PART I

HISTORICAL

I

THE EUROPEAN CONTEXT

1. *Introductory*

RACE attitudes are the social products of the life of a group whose individual members have all been exposed to the same kind of psycho-social environment for a given length of time. As social, these attitudes may be regarded as the expression of the underlying unity of the group since they are shared in common by all its members and provide the means by which each individual can identify himself with his own particular group in contrast with, and usually over against, some other group or groups. There may be variations in the attitude from individual to individual, but, as social, the same attitude pattern must necessarily be reproduced in every individual member if the unity of the group is to be preserved. And since that unity is not only preserved but also persists as the result of the possession of a body of social attitudes, we find that any given social attitude is always part of the social heritage of a particular group. As a social habit, the attitude has a history; it testifies to the continuity of the present with the past in the life of the group.

It is this continuity which makes it desirable in many cases to approach the study of social attitudes from the historical point of view. Any attitude, in fact, whether social or private, has a history and, in a sense, represents the living past whether of the group or of the individual. The study of that past, therefore, by tracing out the origins or early stages of development, must throw light upon the present attitude which represents merely the latest or contemporary phase of that total genetic process which may be described at second hand in the form either of the history of the group or of the biography of the individual. In the case of our problem, the historical approach becomes a necessity, since no study of European race attitudes in South Africa, especially of certain sections of the population, can possibly be regarded as complete which does not take into consideration their historical development.

Since social attitudes are the underlying reality of social life and social interaction at the psychological level, there is always the risk that the study of such attitudes may be vitiated by a misinter-

pretation of the historical events and circumstances which alone are directly accessible. Even when the historical facts have been correctly identified, their interpretation in terms of the correlated attitudes may be biased. In a psycho-historical treatment that form of the psychologist's fallacy which consists in interpreting past events in terms of present attitude must at all costs be avoided unless we propose to substitute propaganda for history. The fallacy is especially liable to creep in when the development of such a firmly rooted attitude as that of race or colour prejudice provides the theme. In fact, the mere attempt to treat the attitude in an objective way tends to excite emotional repercussions which make the affair an object of suspicion both to those who approve, as well as to those who disapprove, of the attitude in question. But whatever our own personal views may be upon the matter, it should not be impossible to arrive at some measure of agreement as to what actually were the historical factors that contributed to the development of the attitude—since, given the starting-point, and those factors, that development may now be looked upon as the necessary consequence of the interaction between the original attitude and its total environment. The point to bear in mind is that the social attitude, by its very nature, has a history, and that, divorced from its past, it cannot be fully comprehended. On the other hand, its history must find room for a genuine development, must admit, at least, the possibility of real changes taking place in an original attitude which may be very different from the present attitude into which it has been transformed during the historical process.

With the exception of a time of emotional crisis when the opportunity is provided for the dramatic displacement of one attitude by another, as, for example, at the outbreak of a war or during a religious revival, a social attitude is, as a rule, highly conservative. This feature of an attitude is derived from its psychological function as a mode of adjustment to a particular psycho-social environment. Hence the attitude persists so long as it continues to perform its function. But as the environment changes and new factors come into play, so also must the attitude change if it is to perform its function successfully. The main problem, therefore, which confronts us in this historical study is to trace the changes that have taken place in the race attitudes that were brought to South Africa and to identify the factors that have played a part in bringing about those changes. The complexity of the problem is such that a detailed treatment would require the rewriting of the whole history of race contacts between European and non-European in South Africa. Apart from considerations of space as well as of capacity which

make such a treatment out of the question, all that we aim at doing is to draw attention to those phases in the historical or developmental process which appear to be of special significance for our purpose. What requires to be stressed throughout is the fact of the unity and continuity of that process as each phase passes over into, and is succeeded by, the following phase. Nowhere do we find any sudden redirection that would enable us to deal with any particular phase even in relative isolation from its context in the whole process. For that reason, over and above the special treatment of a particular phase with its liability to distortion, there appears to be room for an attempt which endeavours to view the history of race contacts and the development of race attitudes as a whole, and to draw attention to those factors which, at different stages in that total process, may be regarded as having played an important part.

In South Africa the conditions for the study of an historical development which, in effect, has led to the radical transformation of an original attitude are exceptionally favourable. In the first place, the race contacts between Europeans and non-Europeans have been mediated throughout by direct personal or 'face-to-face' contacts. These contacts, moreover, have been neither intermittent nor casual, but persistent and intimate. In the second place, these same contacts have been of many different kinds and have taken place under a great variety of different circumstances. In the third place, the time-interval has been of sufficient length to have allowed the various factors, either directly or indirectly involved, to realize their full effects. In many respects these factors have been peculiar to this country, so that they have led to the development of what may fairly be described as a unique race-attitude pattern which, to the outside observer, appears to display some very definite and highly characteristic features. In the fourth place, the relative isolation of the country, especially during the eighteenth century, has simplified the process of development by enabling it to take place continuously in one direction. This continuity of development has given rise to what may be described as a 'pure' race attitude, the study of which, if it could be supplemented by a comparative study of race attitudes that have been developed in other parts of the world and under different circumstances, should throw some light upon the wider problems of race contacts, race relations, and race attitudes in general.

2. European Expansion in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

The rise of the nation-states in Europe prepared the way for an expansion overseas of European control over, and European

contacts with, non-European countries and their inhabitants which by the sixteenth century was already well under way. Led by Portugal and Spain, and followed in the seventeenth century by Holland, England, and France, the European expansion to the West and to the East was the result of many, sometimes even conflicting, motives and assumed many different forms.¹ It is the character, however, of the Protestant European expansion, and more particularly of Dutch expansion overseas, that is of special interest for our theme. As contrasted with the expansion of the Catholic countries which in the beginning, at any rate, was to some extent permeated by a crusading and missionary spirit,² the expansion of the Protestant countries was from the beginning far more secular and mercenary in spirit. While the representative figures of the former were the soldier and the Jesuit priest, those of the latter were the colonist and the trader.³ Then, as now, trade rivalries and national rivalries were closely intertwined and quarrels which had originated in Europe were carried overseas as well, where they were fought out with even greater bitterness and unscrupulousness.

For the Catholic countries, expansion overseas was regarded as a form of State enterprise whose activities were directed and supervised by a royal representative or viceroy. The overseas activities of the Protestant countries, on the other hand, although encouraged by the State, were for the most part the result of private enterprise undertaken by companies which were granted a charter for the purpose. This difference in organization was to lead in the case of the trading companies, both Dutch and English, to a concentration upon the trading side of their activities and to a subordination of those functions of control which were properly exercised by a State authority over its subjects. Although the great East India Companies by virtue of their charters could, and did, exercise sovereign powers, those powers were exercised more completely in the interests of their commercial aims than might have been the case had a State authority, with wider interests, been responsible for overseas expansion.⁴ When State control did finally step

¹ For a convenient summary of this early European expansion see Ramsay Muir, *The Expansion of Europe*, chap. 1.

² On this point see A. R. Newton, *The Age of Discovery*, p. 6. At this time Protestantism, especially in its Calvinistic and Puritanical forms, was not a missionary religion; if anything, it tended to be exclusive and persecutory. The statement that it fitted in well with the aims of a money-making society, although made on good authority, has also been disputed.

³ Compare the figure of the Dutch *koopman* who would go through Hell for the sake of trade.

⁴ Compare the history of English East India Company rule in India which had gradually by successive steps to be brought under the control of the State government until finally abolished.

in, as, for instance, at the Cape at the end of the eighteenth century, the effects of Company rule, although relatively only a minor and, in a sense, negative factor in the total situation, had already been fully realized. It was not so much what the Company form of expansion did as what it failed to do, that indirectly played a part in affecting the relations of European and non-European.

But whatever the form of European expansion, the nature of the contacts between European and non-European tended to be, from the beginning, of a violent and aggressive kind. The European who initiated and established contact was always the intruder from without, the stranger at the gates, ever ready to seize by force what he could not secure by peaceful means. Interracial contacts resembled, for the most part, a return to that state of nature which, according to Hobbes, was the original condition of man. Although Henry the Navigator, who never sailed a ship, might give the first impulse to European expansion overseas in order to extend the Christian faith, most of his life was spent in leading a last, long crusade against the Moors. Although the Portuguese ships that followed one another down the coast of Africa beyond the Moorish sphere might never sail without their complement of priests, there was no hesitation about attacking and seizing as slaves the negroes of the West Coast who, on occasion, gave as good as they got. Although Spain, as the elder daughter of the Church, might, under Isabella, support the enterprise of Columbus in order that the blessings of the Catholic Church should be extended to the New World, that did not prevent the depopulation of the West Indian islands or the exploitation of the mainland and its inhabitants in spite of all the efforts of a Las Casas to invoke State aid for their protection. His remedy, which consisted in the importation of thousands of negro slaves from Africa, was no better than the disease. Again, although

'the conversion of the natives, and their protection, formed part of Henry the Seventh's plan of territorial acquisition—and his instructions required the most absolute respect to be paid to the native women',¹ while under Elizabeth's government 'the letters patent to overseas adventurers were,—to seize upon the discovered lands,—and set forth ostentatiously enough the design of making the coloured people Christians; but few means were devised for effecting it, and only feeble guarantees existed for their protection. Nor was public opinion more advanced. It was early in her reign that Sir John Hawkins easily formed the first Company in London, to begin the slave trade. The humane conduct of Chancellor towards the Savages was not pursued by his successors. On the contrary, as soon afterwards as in 1567, Martin Frobisher perpetrated the

¹ *British Colonization and Coloured Tribes*, p. 21, by Saxe Bannister, late Attorney-General of New South Wales, published in 1830.

most atrocious acts in the same part of the world—which do not appear to have been punished by the world.¹

Speaking broadly, we may say that there was hardly a single instance in the early history of European expansion overseas by way of conquest, trade, or colonization where the first contacts between Europeans and the inhabitants of the newly discovered countries did not, sooner or later, lead to conflict. And with the exception of a very rare case like the venture of William Penn, the same generalization appears to be equally true of the later contacts with the native inhabitants, especially of those countries that could be readily exploited and settled by European traders and colonists.

3. *The European and the Non-European*

Though the age of faith may have waned among the western European nations, with the exception of Portugal and Spain, by the time that the age of expansion was in full swing, the background of contemporary thought and action was still predominantly religious. Religion was not an affair merely of the individual or even of the community, but of the State as well, so that the religious wars which convulsed Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had finally to be settled on the principle of *cuius regio eius religio*. Religious intolerance and religious persecution, however, continued to flourish not only in the form of anti-Catholic and anti-Protestant prejudice but also in the form of doctrinal controversies and opposing sects. This state of affairs within Europe was reflected in the attitudes and actions of the Europeans wherever contact was established with non-Europeans. The first efforts overseas of the Portuguese and the Spaniards were to some extent, as we have seen, the result of religious motives, since the struggle between the Cross and the Crescent still kept the crusading spirit alive nearer home. Along the African coast were the savages pagans who believed in neither Christ nor Mohammed and who were, therefore, without a religion—while along the east coast and in India were the ancient enemies of the Faith, the Arab traders and settlers. The inhabitants of the west coast of India who were not Mohammedans were at first believed by the Portuguese to be Christians and the Hindu religion a corrupt form of Christianity.²

Throughout these early, as well as subsequent, race contacts, the great dividing line which ran between European and non-European was that of religion. It mainly determined the attitude of the European towards the non-European since that attitude was always some variation or other of the basic group attitude, either

¹ Saxe Bannister, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

² *The Cambridge History of The British Empire*, vol. iv, p. 4.

in its Catholic or in its Protestant form, of Christian towards non-Christian. Although the inhabitants of Africa and of India, not to speak of other parts of the world, were of different shades of skin-colour, of different levels of culture and of civilization, of different religions or of no religion at all, they were all alike with respect to that fundamental difference which yawned like a gulf between them and the professing Christians.

The significance of this difference is well illustrated by the institution of slavery. All born outside the Christian community, especially those who were captives of war, could lawfully be enslaved. Thus, of Prince Henry the Navigator we read that

'in pursuit of his crusading purpose he did not hesitate to sacrifice himself, and his zeal for religion led him to rejoice when a company of adventurers brought back cargoes of natives, because of the salvation of those souls that before were lost. He gave away those that fell to his share, for slavery was not in his design, though it was then and for centuries later considered lawful.'¹

No Christian could, of course, hold a fellow Christian in slavery, and a slave who had been baptized was entitled, therefore, to claim his freedom. For a Christian to be held in slavery by a non-Christian was intolerable—hence the Christian duty of ransoming or rescuing those Europeans who had fallen into the hands of the Moors of North Africa. The slave-trade, which was first started by the Portuguese and later monopolized by the English, was originally justified on the ground that the West African negroes were either 'lost souls', in which case it was the Christian duty to rescue them, or 'savages and pagans', in which case they probably had no souls to lose and were, therefore, born to be slaves.² In other ways as well, the European professing Christianity considered himself entitled to enjoy the privileges of his faith at the expense of those who did not share it with him. In the early days of European expansion, 'the mere act of discovering a country in which heathens lived, was strongly held to give the discoverers a lawful title to the soil, and dominion over all its inhabitants. The duty of converting the native people to Christianity was, however, the condition annexed to this power of acquiring new territories at will.'³

But while the main stratum of the European attitude towards non-Europeans was so largely a matter of religion, there were

¹ A. R. Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

² Le Vaillant, writing as a romanticist, remarks: 'We no longer live in those ages of sacred ignorance when all people who were black were accounted anthropophagi. The Spaniards do not now believe, as in the time of their barbarous incursions in Peru, that a pure soul cannot exist in a black body' (*Travels into the Interior of Africa*, 1780-5). If we substitute 'reason' for 'Christian Faith' and 'barbari' for 'non-Christians', we have the Greek justification of slavery.

³ Saxe Bannister, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

considerable variations in the expression of that attitude corresponding to the obvious differences among the non-Europeans or non-Christians themselves. At one end of the scale were the Mohammedan and Hindu peoples, as highly civilized as any European nation, and often far wealthier and more powerful, organized into states under their own rulers and princes and with their own religions, laws, and customs. The European, under these circumstances, could at times only achieve his aims by negotiation and conciliation, by treaties that secured him special privileges or

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.¹ He was, and remained, an intruder who was only tolerated because of his value as a trader. Under such circumstances, there was no question of the European imposing his will upon the non-European—the most that he could hope for was to be granted the necessary facilities for carrying on his trading activities.² In actual practice, as often as not, he found himself at a disadvantage since his opportunities as a trader were so entirely dependent upon the favour or goodwill of the ruling prince. The picture of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of King James at the court of the Grand Mogul, endeavouring patiently for months on end to negotiate a favourable treaty on behalf of the English East India Company may serve as an illustration of one kind of contact between European and non-European and of their relative positions in those days. The belief of the European in his own innate superiority over every one outside Europe, and the fashionable dogma of mankind's division into superior and inferior races—those characteristic products of eighteenth-century European domination and nineteenth-century evolutionary theory—were, as yet, non-existent in the minds of Europeans, since the circumstances of the time did not favour their development.³ The only bar to intermarriage was one of religion,

¹ On this point see L. Woolf, *Imperialism and Civilization*, pp. 45-52.

² What sort of treatment the Europeans were prepared to submit to, for the sake of trade, may be seen from the following extract from a contemporary account, quoted by Godee-Molsbergen in *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid Afrika*, p. 21: 'Alle deze ontydelyke quellingen en nushandeligen, hoe ondragelyk ook in zichzelve, hebben wy moeten verduren, om ons oogwt omtrent den aanwasch van den handel daar te bereiken, en om ons by den Keizer, en deze Natie, zoo aangenaam te maken, dat zy ons tenminste als stille kooplieden zouden willen dulden.' These Dutch merchants to Japan who succeeded the Portuguese in 1639 were isolated on a small island off Nagasaki and treated like the inhabitants of a ghetto. They were obliged to trample annually upon the Cross in the presence of a Japanese official and to make themselves objects of public derision by cutting capers for the entertainment of the Court on an annual visit to the capital. (A. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, vol. II, pp. 232-3.) No wonder that the Dutch *koopman* gained the reputation of being ready to go through Hell for the sake of trade.

³ Compare Toynbee's discussion on the change in connotation of the word 'native', and the Western attitude towards 'natives' (op. cit., vol. I, pp. 151-3).

and when that was removed miscegenation took place freely enough. It was, in fact, encouraged on grounds of policy, since it enabled the European to gain a stronger foothold in the new countries. Albuquerque, for example, did everything in his power to encourage his Portuguese to marry Indian wives, and the same policy was followed later by the Dutch to strengthen their hold on Further India.¹

At the other end of the scale were the primitive races who were, for the most part, inhabitants of Africa.² They were regarded as wholly savage, without religion, law, or morals, and hence more like wild beasts than human beings. It was usually taken for granted that they were cannibals.³ From the very beginning, the relations between them and the Europeans were entirely anarchical. Since they fell outside the pale of humanity, they could be freely kidnapped, enslaved, or massacred, for, apart from their value as 'black ivory', they could offer little or no inducement to the European trader who, with his eyes fixed upon the wealth of India and the East, avoided contact with them as far as possible. With the exception of the Jesuit missionaries who sacrificed themselves in North America and penetrated parts of the interior of Africa in their efforts to convert the inhabitants to Christianity, European contacts with the primitive peoples of Africa as well as of other parts of the world only served to provide opportunity for exploitation and material for travellers' tales. 'This literature of travel and adventure'—one of the most interesting by-products of the

¹ For the policy of Albuquerque see *Cambridge History of India*, vol. iv, p. 11. For the policy of Matelief see Theal, *History of South Africa before 1795*, vol. i, pp. 350-1.

² The following contemporary account of a primitive non-African race from a letter of the Rev. Jonas Michaelius written in 1628 is very typical: 'As to the natives of this country, I find them entirely savage and wild, strangers to all decency, Yea, uncivil and stupid as garden poles, proficient in all wickedness and godlessness; devilish men, who serve nobody but the Devil, that is, the spirit which in their language they call Menetto; under which they comprehend everything that is subtle and crafty and beyond human skill and power. They have so much witchcraft, divination, sorcery and wicked arts, that they can hardly be held in by any bands or locks. They are as thievish and treacherous as they are tall; and in cruelty they are altogether inhuman, more than barbarous, far exceeding the African.' (*Narratives of New Netherlands*, edit. by J. F. Jameson, pp. 126-7. Original not italicized.)

³ Cannibals were first met with by the Portuguese on the west coast of Africa. In 1475 a Flemish vessel, ignoring the Papal prohibition, went to trade at Mina, but, according to the chronicler, 'God gave them a bad end, for it was wrecked and the niggers ate the crew of thirty-five' (A. P. Newton, op. cit., p. 45). In the West Indies the Spaniards were horrified by the fierce man-eating Caribs, while the coast of Brazil was similarly infested. Compare the sad case of a master-pilot of Spain who, with a boat's crew, was knocked on the head and eaten by Brazilians in sight of his fleet, which immediately set sail for home (F. A. Kirkpatrick, *The Spanish Conquistadors*, p. 122). A reputation for cannibalism, once acquired, died hard.

⁴ The well-known Broadway Travellers Series includes a number of the more

European age of expansion—assumed tremendous proportions and had considerable influence in shaping the attitude of the stay-at-home European in very much the same way that the popular press and books of the present day may influence the attitude of a people in one country towards the people in another country.¹ In a credulous and superstitious age the *Ignotum pro magnifico* readily became the *Ignotum pro horrifico*. The first book published in English dealing with the new discoveries is illustrated with woodcuts which represent (a) an elephant with a trunk and howdah but with the legs and hoofs of a horse, (b) a hippogriff carrying off a man as its prey, (c) the phoenix rising from its ashes, (d) a human figure with a cyclopean eye, and (e) a cannibal and his wife with their two children before a fire over which severed human limbs are being roasted.²

The reality, as a matter of fact, was in some respects sufficiently marvellous, and in other respects sufficiently horrible, but popular imagination demanded more than reality. People readily believed what they wanted to believe in order to enjoy their vicarious thrills, and no tale of foreign parts and of their primitive inhabitants was too fantastic not to find ready acceptance. In all this we see the reflection of one side of the popular mentality and of the popular attitude which is well illustrated by some of the plays of Shakespeare, 'who borrowed fables from the voyages of the circumnavigators of the time, and peopled the lands they had discovered with Calibans and Sycoraxes, destined to be our slaves'.³ It may have been the memory of Sycorax herself that led to the following incident, an account of which is borrowed by the same author from the observations of Dr. Reinhold Forster, the companion of Captain Cook, upon the cruelty and superstitions of the early navigators: 'And what are we to think of Christians who could mistake, as they did, an ill-favoured old woman for the devil incarnate, and were not to be convinced of the contrary till they found she had not a cloven hoof.'⁴

4. *The European at the Cape*

For the early Portuguese navigators the Cape at its best was, and remained, nothing more than an important landmark on their voyages to, and from, East Africa and India. At its worst, the Cape valuable original accounts of which Bontekoe's *East Indian Voyage* is of special interest from our point of view.

¹ Compare the influence of the popular press to-day on popular attitudes to the Bolshevys in the recent past and to the Nazis to-day.

² The book was published in 1619, and the woodcut is reproduced in A. P. Newton's *The Great Age of Discovery*.

³ Saxé Bannister, op. cit., p. 61.

⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

was dreaded on account of the terrible storms that raged round it, so that its passage was an occasion for heartfelt rejoicing. The following contemporary account from the pen of an Englishman reveals the state of mind in which a Portuguese crew approached the crisis of their voyage.

'With these and like sights, but always making our supplications to God for good weather and salvation of the ship, we came at length unto the Point [presumably Cape Point] so famous and feared of all men, but we found there no tempest, only great waves where our pilot was a little overseen [i.e. mistaken or deceived]. And there we stood as utterly cast away; for under us were rocks of main stone so sharp and cutting that no anchor could hold the ship, the shore so evil that nothing could take land, and the land itself so full of Tigers and people that are savage and killers of all strangers that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but only in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost anchors, hoising up the sails for to get the ship a coast in some safer place or when it should please God, it pleased his Mercy suddenly, where no man looked for help, to fill our sails with wind from the land. And so we escaped, thanks to God.'¹

Occasional landings would be made in some bay on the coast for the purpose of obtaining supplies of fresh water, when contact might be established with parties of several savages and some cattle bartered for a few trifles. As often as not, these contacts, even when they began in a friendly fashion, ended in violence and bloodshed. The following incident, which occurred on da Gama's first voyage to the East, is a mild illustration of what became almost the normal kind of contact between these first Europeans and the native inhabitants of the Cape coast.

'On Sunday, the 26th of November (1497), the fleet reached the inlet termed by Da Gama the Watering Place of Sao Bras, now Mossel Bay. Here, after they had been several days at anchor, a number of Hottentots appeared, some—men and women—riding on pack oxen. They were very friendly, for on Da Gama's going ashore they received with much pleasure the baubles he presented to them, and exchanged some of their ivory arm rings for scarlet caps. Afterwards more arrived, bringing a few sheep, which were obtained in barter.—Treachery, however, was suspected, and quarrels arose, so after a while Da Gama moved from his first anchorage to another to get away from the wild people, but they followed him along the shore, upon which he fired at them to frighten them, when they fled inland.'²

¹ Extract of a letter written from Goa by Thomas Stevens, an English Jesuit, in 1579, and reproduced in *The First Englishmen in India*, a volume in the Broadway Travellers Series. When Stevens wrote, the reputation of the natives as 'killers of all strangers' had already been established among the Portuguese for many years.

² Theal, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 56-7.

The Portuguese, da Saldanha, was the first European to cast anchor in the bay which afterwards became known as Table Bay. His experience was very similar to that of Da Gama's.

'The valley seemed to be without people, but after a while some Hottentots made their appearance, from whom a cow and two sheep were purchased. They were suspicious of the strangers for on another occasion some two hundred of them suddenly attacked a party of Portuguese who had gone ashore, and Saldanha himself received a slight wound.'¹

A few years later (1510) another incident of a far more tragic kind and involving a heavy loss of valuable lives occurred on the shores of Table Bay when the Viceroy, d'Almeida, and over sixty of his company, among whom were a number of officers of high rank, were massacred by the Hottentots. This terrible affair completed the reputation of the southern coast of Africa in the minds of the Portuguese, and thereafter, unless driven ashore by shipwreck, they steered clear of the land and of its ferocious inhabitants.

It was not until towards the end of the century that intermittent contacts were once more established between Europeans and the local inhabitants. The Dutch and the English who were beginning to encroach upon the century-old monopoly of the Eastern trade by the Portuguese were obliged to put in at the Cape for refreshment. Unlike the Portuguese, whose route to India lay between the island of Madagascar and the African mainland where they had firmly established themselves at Mozambique, the Dutch and English vessels on their way to Further India sailed south of that island and due east into the open sea before turning in the direction of their destination. Thus they could only make landfall at the Cape on the outward voyage, while on the return voyage, although there was an alternative port of call at St. Helena, it was only by putting in at the Cape that the inward and outward bound ships were able to establish contact with one another.²

In 1591 the first English ships dropped anchor in Saldanha Bay, where they obtained fresh water but failed to establish relations with the inhabitants, who fled inland. At Table Bay they were more successful, for after some days they were able to barter some sheep and cattle from the natives.³ In 1595 the first Dutch fleet, consisting of four ships dispatched to open up trade with India,

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

² S. F. N. Gie, *Geschiedenis van Suid-Afrika*, pp. 45-6.

³ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 136. 'Black savages, very brutish', is the pithy description of these natives given by Barker, an officer of the expedition. For a valuable account of the impressions made upon the early English and Dutch voyagers by the inhabitants see an article in *The Star*, Apr. 30, 1932, by Bibbtheacare. Also J. du Plessis, 'Die Eerste Besoekers aan Tafelbaai', *Die Huisgenoot*, Dec. 7, 1934.

dropped its anchors in Sao Bras or Mossel Bay where they stayed a week, during which time 'a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from the inhabitants for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron'.¹ The following description of these natives is given by an eyewitness:

'Sy syn cleyn van persoon, leelyck van gesichte, haer haer opt hooft staedt oft affgeschroyt waer van de zonne ende sien daeruyt eenen gelyck een dieff, die door het langhe hanghen verdroocht es.—Belangende haer spraeck is eenen gelyck ofte men een deel Calcijense hanen hoorden raesen, eenen gelyck is oock haer spraecke, daer van weynich anders cont hooren als clocken ende fluyten. Oock souden sy well, naer dat men conde mercken yemant van ons luyden gegeten hebben, want zy weynich mackte om rauwe dermen te eeten, daer sy den dreck met eenen vingher maer een weynich uytgestreecken hadden, waerdoor wel stontd te vermoeden *dat het menscheneters moesten weesen*.'²

The success of these pioneering expeditions was followed by the organization of the trading activities with the East that led to the formation of the Dutch and English East India Companies. From the beginning of the seventeenth century Dutch and English ships, more particularly those on the outward voyage, made a regular practice of spending some time in Table Bay in order to refresh the crews. Whenever possible, cattle and sheep were bartered from the Hottentots, with whom, on the whole, friendly relations were maintained, although on more than one occasion the bartering ended in bloodshed. The English were the first to attempt the experiment of taking away one or two of the Hottentots with a view to their learning European speech and ways and bringing them back in order to establish friendly relations with their countrymen at the Cape. Thus, in 1613, two Hottentots were taken

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

² Blommaert en Gie, *Uit ou Reisbeskryvinge*, pp. 79-80. Original not italicized. [Fr. 'They are small in stature, ugly of countenance, the hair on their heads stands as though scorched by the sun and looks like that of a thief, who has been dried out by hanging a long while.—With regard to their speech it is as if one were to hear some turkey cocks making a noise, so also is their speech, of which little else can be heard than a clucking and whistling. They would also without a doubt, as one could observe, have eaten any of our company, since they made little of eating raw guts after they had drained out the muck a little with a finger, from which it can readily be surmised that they must be man-eaters.']

In some verse published in Holland, celebrating the proposed settlement at the Cape more than fifty years later, we read:

'n Sgoon daar duysende van Mensgen-eters lope:

Zy eten slegs malkaar, wy syn gereed tot slaan.'

Compare the following description, written in 1614, of the inhabitants of Table Bay: 'De Inwoonders zyn elandige menschen, die niet zaayen nog planten. Zy woonen in kleyne Huysjens van Huyden die in het rond by malkander staan, en in het midden van dat rond is hun Vee. Zy zyn brum, maar worden (hen selven smerende) byna swart. Zy stunken, als men onder de wind van hen staan. Zy zyn diefagtig en vals.' Du Plessis, *op. cit.*

on board in 'Table Bay. One died of grief soon after leaving home, but the other reached England, where he was given many presents, including a suit of brass armour. He was returned to 'Table Bay in the following year, but so far from giving the assistance hoped for, he spoilt the cattle trade by teaching his fellows to despise the bits of copper hitherto accepted by them in exchange for their cattle. For that reason he appears to have been hanged by the Dutch several years later.¹

The importance of 'Table Bay as a refreshment station for the crews of the passing Dutch and English ships was obviously so great that it was not a question of whether, but how soon, some permanent station would be established on its shore in order to reduce the uncertainties of the present arrangements.² It was equally clear that some kind of fort would be required to protect those connected with the settlement against the Hottentots in the vicinity. As early as 1608, an official of the English East India Company reported on the advisability of a permanent settlement, and in 1619 an interesting proposal, initiated by representatives of the Dutch East India Company, was made for a joint Dutch and English settlement.³ It was while this proposal was still under discussion that the abortive annexation of the Cape in the name of King James of England took place. For various reasons the negotiations failed, and it was not until the events of nearly thirty years later that the occasion finally arose which led to a permanent station being established by the Dutch Company for the very definite and limited purpose of providing refreshment for the crews of their ships. By that time the Dutch had far outstripped their rivals, while the relations between the two countries were such that an English attack on the Cape was one of the dangers that threatened the existence of the infant settlement.

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, pp. 374-5.

² Theal, *op. cit.*, pp. 368-9.

³ *Cie, op. cit.*, p. 47.

II

THE FORT AND THE GARDEN

I. *Preliminaries*

THE two memorialists, Leendert Jansz. and N. Proot, after having pointed out in their 'Remonstrance', presented to the Council of Seventeen on July 26, 1649, the advantages to be derived from a 'fort and garden at the Cape of Good Hope', proceed to deal at length with the problem arising out of the presence of the natives living in the vicinity. Their discussion of this problem has so much significance for our theme, and throws light upon so many points connected with the nature of the contacts that had hitherto been made between the two races, that a lengthy quotation appears to be justified. Thus the memorialists argue:

'Others will say that the natives are brutal and cannibals, from whom no good can be expected, and that we will have to be continually on our guard, but this is a vulgar error, as will be shown further on. We do not deny that they live without laws or police, like many Indians, nor that some boatmen and soldiers have been killed by them, but the cause is not generally stated by our people, in order to excuse themselves. We are quite convinced that the peasants of this country [i.e. Holland], in case their cattle are shot down or taken away without payment would not be a hair better than these natives if they had not to fear the law.

'We of the *Haerlem* testify otherwise, as the natives came with all friendliness to trade with us at the fort which we had thrown up during our five months stay, bringing cattle and sheep in numbers. . . .

'Once the chief mate, carpenter and corporal of the *Haerlem* went so far as the location of the natives, who received and treated them kindly, whilst they might easily have killed them if they had been inclined to cannibalism. The killing of our people is undoubtedly caused by revenge being taken by the natives when their cattle is seized, and not because they are cannibals.

'The uncivil and ungrateful conduct of our people is therefore the cause; for last year when the fleet commanded by the Hon. E. Wollebrandt was lying in Table Bay, instead of recompensing the natives somewhat for their good treatment of those wrecked in the *Haerlem*, they shot down 8 or 9 of their cattle and took them away without payment; which may cost the life of some of ours, if the natives find an opportunity; and your Honours may consider whether the latter would not have cause for such a proceeding. . . .

'Living on good terms with them, some of their children may afterwards be employed as servants, and educated in the Christian religion, by which means, if Almighty God blesses the work, as He has done at

Tayouan and Formosa, many souls will be brought to the Christian Reformed Religion and to God.

'The proposed fort and garden will therefore not only tend to the advantage and profit of the Company, but to the salvation also of many lives, certainly the most excellent deed to magnify the name of the Most Holy God and the spreading of His Holy Gospel. By such means your work in India will be blessed more and more. . . .'¹

This memorandum, which contains the first considered statements about the native inhabitants of the Cape in relation to the European, reveals very clearly several aspects of the contemporary race-attitude of the European towards an uncivilized people while, at the same time, it throws some light upon the problems arising out of interracial contacts. The authors, as the result of first-hand experience extending over a considerable period of time,² are concerned to disprove the universal belief that the natives, since they are savages, must be cannibals. They admit that they are uncivilized, being 'without laws or police', and that, having no justice to fear, they will, when provoked, readily revenge themselves. 'The uncivil and ungrateful conduct of our people', however, and the violent way in which they seize upon the natives' cattle, 'without payment', are the real cause of the hostility of the latter. Provided that they are fairly treated, there is no reason to fear them. Moreover, the children of the natives will in time become serviceable by learning the Dutch language and entering the employ of the Europeans as servants. It will be the duty of the Company to complete their 'Europeanization' by educating them in the Christian religion—a duty which, if successfully carried out, would not only bring 'many souls to the Christian Reformed Religion and to God', but would also bless the Company's trade and increase its profits. This curious combination of interested and disinterested motives, flavoured with a dash of religion, was thoroughly in keeping with the spirit of the times, which had not yet learned to separate big business from religion. So also was the naive belief that the interests of the natives, of the Company, and of the Deity could all be served at one and the same time.

By way of contrast, van Riebeeck's attitude, as revealed by the report which he had been asked to submit to the Council on the memorandum, was far less favourably inclined towards the

¹ H. C. V. Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, 1651–1653*, Letters and Documents Received, No. 1: 'A Short Exposition of the Advantages to be derived by the Company from a Fort and Garden at the Cape of Good Hope', pp. 3–11.

² 'Ongeveer een rond jaar hadden de schipbreukelingen by de Tafel Baai doorgebracht toen half Maart, 1648, Geleynsen's retoer vloot, waarop ook Jan v. Riebeeck was, hen kwam afhalen' (Godde-Molsbergen, op. cit., p. 56).

natives. His opinion, though not based to anything like the same extent upon first-hand experience,¹ was more in accordance with the generally accepted view of the natives.

'Though "Sieur" Leendert does not seem to have any fear of the natives, I beg to state as my opinion that they are not to be trusted, being a brutal gang, living without any conscience. The fort must therefore be strongly defensive—as I have heard from many who have been there and who are trustworthy, that our people have been killed without any cause whatever—and prudence is consequently necessary in our intercourse with them.'²

On the other hand, he is as enthusiastic as the memorialists about the prospects of a successful settlement at the Cape as well as in whole-hearted agreement with their views on the improvement of the natives.

'The statement, that the natives or their children are able to learn the Dutch language is important and a very good thing, but of greater moment is the furtherance of our Reformed Christian Religion about which he appears to be sanguine.'³

Van Riebeeck, therefore, when he finally set out for the Cape on December 16, 1651, was determined to cherish no illusions about what he believed to be the true character of the aborigines with whom he would have to come into contact. His previous service in the Company had provided him with plenty of experience in dealing with non-Europeans in the East who were at a high level of civilization, and he was not prepared to take any risks with a number of mere savages. Since he believed the worst of them, he was ready to act on that belief—a frame of mind which, as we shall see, was strengthened by his subsequent experiences. But his freedom of action was rigidly circumscribed by the Council of Seventeen. In the 'Instructions for the Officers of the Expedition fitted out for the Cape of Good Hope to found a Fort and Garden there' we find the policy laid down that was to be observed towards the native inhabitants:

'You shall also look out for the best pastures around the fort for depasturing and breeding cattle; for which purpose a good understanding with the natives will be necessary in order to make them in course of time accustomed to intercourse with you, and so attract them. In this great prudence is necessary, and you shall have to take special care not

¹ 'As you have referred to me your servant, who, in 1648, when returning home in the return fleet of the Hon. Wollebrandt Guleynsen, likewise remained three weeks on shore at the Cape . . .'

Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, No. 2: 'Report of Van Riebeeck on the above 'Remonstrance', addressed to the Directors of the General Company, Amsterdam, June, 1651', pp. 11-14.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

to injure their cattle which they are herding or bringing on, as this would repel them from us, as has often been shown.¹

The Council had evidently been impressed by the evidence brought forward to show the harmful consequences of offering violence to the natives, and, so far as instructions could go, they were determined that, from the beginning, the contacts between their servants and the natives should be as friendly as possible. Unfriendly natives could only add to the expenses and difficulties of the settlement and a conciliatory policy would pay in the long run. Curiously enough, the instructions made no reference to such matters as teaching the natives the Dutch language or 'the furtherance of the Reformed Christian Religion'. These, perhaps, might only have led to unnecessary provocation of the natives.

2. *Annus Miserabilis*

The members of the expedition which reached the Cape in April 1652 were confronted by a task of the very greatest difficulty. They had arrived at the end of the dry season when the country was suffering from the effects of lack of rain. For food supplies they were dependent on what they had brought with them in addition to any cattle that they might be able to barter from the natives. Once their ships had sailed, they would be completely isolated and cut off from any outside assistance. The rainy season that was due to set in within a month or two would add materially to their hardships, while the wild animals that swarmed about the peninsula would make cultivation difficult when the growing season arrived. It was not very long before the European settlement was reduced to a struggle for bare existence. The natives with whom they came into contact in their immediate vicinity were of a kind that confirmed the Commander's worst fears. They were the Beachrangers, a small horde who eked out a miserable existence on the sea-shore. They were without any flocks or herds, utterly degraded in their habits, and hung about the Fort, pilfering whenever they could get a chance. This *brutale hoop* could not be induced to render any kind of service to the Europeans, and were only tolerated since they could not be got rid of and might prove useful in opening up communication with the larger and wealthier clans from the inland who, from time to time, especially in the early summer months, visited the neighbourhood in search of pasture for their cattle. The 'captain' of the Beachrangers, one Harry or Herry by name, who had acquired a smattering of English, proved useful as an interpreter and became a sort of protégé of the Commander, from whose table he was fed.

¹ Leibbrandt, op. cit., No. 3, Amsterdam, Mar. 25, 1651, pp. 15-18.

One of the first acts of van Riebeeck was to issue, in terms of his instructions, a proclamation—the first of many—regulating the behaviour of the Europeans towards the natives. This proclamation, dated April 9, 1652, on the ship *Drommedaris*, brings out clearly the potential causes of friction present in the situation created by the arrival of the Europeans. The more relevant portions read as follows:

‘Whereas we have been ordered by the Directors to proceed to the Cape in the *Drommedaris*,—and build a fortress for the safety of the Company’s possessions there, and whereas such a new undertaking, especially as regards the natives of that country, who are very brutal, should be proceeded with, with much prudence, and it will be necessary to be thoroughly on our guard and in a state of thorough defence, and likewise to give them no cause for dissatisfaction, but on the contrary to do everything to show them all friendship and amiability, in order by affectionate intercourse to make them inclined to associate with us, and provide us with cattle of all sorts, and further to minimize whatever inconvenience we might otherwise suffer from them in our agricultural pursuits, to be undertaken for the refreshment of the Company’s ships, at present the chief object of the Directors. . . .

‘And as this wild nation is very bold, thievish, and not at all to be trusted, everyone shall take good care of his arms and tools, that the natives may not steal them, as we in no wise wish, or for any consideration desire that they should, without our knowledge and consent, be pursued, beaten, or frightened with a sour face by anyone for the purpose of regaining what has been stolen. All arms and tools therefore shall be debited to those who have received them, and should anyone lose them, he shall receive 50 stripes at a post and forfeit his rations 8 days, or undergo such other heavier punishment as the importance of the case shall require. And should anyone ill treat, beat, or push a native—whether he be right or wrong—he shall in the presence of the latter receive 50 lashes, that the natives may be made to understand that the deed has been against our will, and that we desire to associate with them in all friendliness and kindness, according to the orders and object of our Lords Principals. . . .

‘Everyone is therefore earnestly admonished and ordered to show all friendliness and amiability to the natives, that in course of time they may be made accustomed to us by our friendly intercourse and help to realize the object of the Masters. . . . Everyone is likewise expressly forbidden, whatever his position or rank may be, to undertake the least barter or trade with the savages without the consent of the Commander—whether the articles be cattle, refreshments or anything else—that they may be made to think too much of their cattle by the cupidity or imprudence of the men, and the Company in that way become the loser by seeing its wares little thought of.’¹

¹ Ibid., ‘Edicts (Plakkaten) issued by Commander Jan van Riebeeck and Council from the 9th April, 1652, to the 14th October, 1652’, pp. 120 foll.

It was not until the end of October, more than six months after the landing at the Cape, that van Riebeeck was able to open up trade with the 'Saldaniers' (later known by the name Kaapmans or Goringhaiquas) who were on one of their periodical visits to the neighbourhood in search of pasture. Every effort was made to establish friendly relations with them and to win their confidence, even to the extent of putting up with a good deal of unpleasantness. Once again a proclamation was issued in terms that were almost identical with those of the former proclamation. 'The captain of the 'Saldaniers' visited the Fort and 'we showed to him, his wife and 6 or 7 of his chief people, much friendship and entertained them well, to incline them the more to us, and allure them with all their cattle to the Fort, they went away in the evening well contented'.¹ On the surface, at any rate, the friendliest relations appeared to prevail--'The inhabitants display to us, and we to them, nothing but kindness and friendship.'²--and there were no incidents. But the Hottentots proved to be shy traffickers, for the cattle trade languished and remained a mere trickle that threatened to dry up at any moment in spite of the fact that the natives possessed an abundance of cattle.

There is no doubt that van Riebeeck tried conscientiously to carry out the conciliatory policy prescribed by the Directors. His efforts, however, were poorly rewarded and more than once, during this first encounter with a cattle-owning clan, he was tempted to resort to extreme measures to end the deadlock created by the refusal of the natives to trade. Thus, in the Journal, dated December 13, 1652, there occurs the following entry:

'The Saldaniers came with thousands of cattle and sheep close up to the Fort, so that their cattle almost mixed with ours, yet we could not come to any trade; . . . it is therefore very vexing to see such fine herds of cattle, and to be unable to purchase out of them anything to speak of; and although, to allure them, and to excite their cupidity, we offered fully one half more copper for each beast than we had before paid them, and treated them besides with all possible kindness, still we could not prevail upon them; . . . although, were it permitted, we had this day opportunity enough to take from them 10,000 head, which may hereafter, upon our receiving orders to this effect, be done at any time, and indeed better than now, as they will trust us more; . . . these people daily give us sufficient cause for this course, and thus--having cause enough for revenge--to indemnify ourselves upon them or their cattle; and if we cannot, by any friendly trade, get the cattle from them, why

¹ D. Moodie, *The Record, or, A Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa*, The Journal, Nov. 23, 1652, p. 18.

² *Ibid.*, Journal, Dec. 2, 1652, p. 20.

should we suffer their stealing and carrying away without vengeance; which would be necessary only once, and with 150 men, ten or eleven thousand cattle are to be had, without danger of losing a single man, and we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they still constantly come to us without weapons; upon this point, however, are required rather more consultation and wiser consideration than ours, the idea only offering itself cursorily at present, and hereafter to be further thought of and deliberated upon by greater experience, awaiting moreover orders from higher authority.'¹

Whatever overt provocation there had been had come from the side of the natives. Van Riebeeck was evidently galled by his powerlessness to retaliate, and, adding insult to injury, by his failure to induce the natives to trade, since such failure was almost equivalent to a reflection upon his ability. There is no doubt that his drastic proposals, though they were never realized in fact, must have provided him with a good deal of vicarious satisfaction. Even as fantasies they are of great interest, since they show so clearly the characteristic attitude of the European towards a savage or uncivilized people.

In the meantime, however, the natives, blissfully unaware of the ideas concerning their fate that were revolving in the Commander's mind, were leisurely beginning to take their departure—'for they are a lazy people, it being sometimes too much for them to move'.² Thus, an entry in the Journal states:

'This day we saw not a single Saldanier, with or without cattle, near the Fort, but our people at the Salt Redoubt—when out fishing—saw them with thousands of sheep and cattle moving off towards the interior. . . . Meanwhile, here we stand with only 89 cattle and 284 sheep, young and old, from which we must daily slaughter for the people, as the Dutch provisions are nearly gone.'³

Van Riebeeck's exasperation at the very meagre results of his first efforts at trading with the natives is intelligible. His previous experience in the East had not prepared him for the sort of situation with which he was now called upon to deal. The natives, obviously, were too primitive to appreciate the blessings of trade and yet they had the advantage, since they possessed the monopoly of the only commodity that was of any value to the Europeans. Between the two parties there could be few or no points of common interest, but, nevertheless, by the very nature of the situation, they were bound to come into close and constant contact with one another. Sooner or later, therefore, it was inevitable that, under

¹ Ibid., p. 23.

² Ibid., p. 27, Journal, Jan. 6, 1653.

³ Ibid., p. 26, Journal, Dec. 22, 1652.

the circumstances, the stronger party would have to impose its will upon the weaker so as to arrive at some sort of working compromise. The situation between the two races, as it revealed itself within the first year, was too precarious to persist indefinitely. A change for better or for worse, according to the point of view from which it was looked at, was bound to come. The crisis might be postponed but it could not be avoided, and, following it, there would arise an entirely new kind of situation which would bring with it important consequences for the development of future race relations.

Van Riebeeck, in concluding his dispatch, dated April 14, 1653, sums up the impression made upon him by a year's experience of the native inhabitants:

'I will now, to conclude, most humbly, respectfully, and earnestly pray, that your Honors will think of removing me hence to India, and to some better and higher employment, in order that in due time, and in consideration of better services than I can render here, I may earn promotion; for among these dull, stupid, (botte, plompe) lazy, stinking people, little address (subtylety) is required as among the Japanese, Tonquinese and other precise nations therabouts, who, as I have sufficiently experienced in my ten years service, give enough to do to the brains of the cleverest Dutchman. . . .'¹

His prayer was not to be answered for another nine years.

3. *Europeans and Hottentots*

The settlement which van Riebeeck was so anxious to leave, although it had survived its first year, had hardly begun to live, and much remained in store for its reluctant commander before he was given permission to leave for India. By that time, however, the whole situation had changed and van Riebeeck, almost in spite of himself, had placed the settlement firmly upon its feet. No contemporary, including the man himself, could have realized the momentous consequences of these first steps nor the changes and developments to which they were to lead. In this, and the next few sections, we propose to review as briefly as possible some of the more significant events of the period.

The seasonal visit of the cattle-owning clans to the neighbourhood of the Fort had just begun when Herry's people, who, it seemed, 'were attached to us like countrymen',² seized the small

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 32, Journal, Dec. 22, 1652.

² *Ibid.*, p. 36, Res., Oct. 21, 1653, which also describes the kindness shown to Herry and his fellows 'in consequence of which they had become so active in fetching wood and water, in milking the cows and herding the young calves,

but valuable herd of cattle, including draught oxen and milch cows, belonging to the Fort, and drove them off, after having murdered the young European in charge. Too much reliance, evidently, had come to be placed upon the trustworthiness of these natives. This bold theft was committed on a Sunday morning while the whole company was attending church service. Although the most strenuous efforts were made to overtake and recover the cattle, the thieves escaped with their booty. Herry himself, who was regarded as the instigator of the whole affair, had quietly disappeared earlier in the day. Van Riebeeck, in spite of the flagrant provocation, immediately took steps to prevent the incident from leading to an open breach between the Europeans and the other Hottentots in the neighbourhood, who were believed to have abetted the thieves. Thus:

'Council resolved, notwithstanding of the theft and abstraction of the cattle by the Hottentoots, as they could not be overtaken in the commission of the actual offence, expressly to forbid our people (who are much embittered against them in consequence) from doing any of these inhabitants the least injury in the world, whenever they may meet them; should they even fall in with the thieves, aye, with Herry himself, the chief cause; in order to make it always apparent that not only are we disposed to show them nothing but friendship, but also to forget and forgive the injury done to us, and never to think of it again: in order that the Saldanhars may henceforth entertain the less fear, and the more inclination to communicate with us, and come to us again with their cattle, which we hope soon to see, as the chief time for the barter is close at hand. . . .'¹

This conciliatory policy, however, failed to produce the desired results. The natives, referred to as the Saldanhars, whose cattle it was desired to barter, were suspicious of the intentions of the Europeans. They at first refused to come near the Fort and for a long time could not be induced to barter any cattle even when approached in the most friendly fashion by van Riebeeck himself. One horde, in particular, appeared to be in league with Herry, for the stolen cattle were recognized among their herds and several of the Strandloopers, who had assisted Herry in the theft, accompanied them. Of Herry himself there was no sign, but it was believed that he was instigating his friends to make it as difficult as possible for the Europeans by refusing to barter their cattle. At any rate, so far as the Europeans were concerned, the behaviour of

that it seemed that these were attached to us like countrymen'. Herry and his gang, although they owned no cattle of their own, were believed to have been 'throw-outs' from one of the cattle-owning clans.

¹ Ibid., p. 36, Journal, Oct. 21, 1657.

the Hottentots was very much more trying than in the previous year. As their fears began to wear off, they only became

'much bolder than heretofore, in stealing and carrying off all they could, and even on finding our people unarmed close to the Fort, taking all their things from them by force, aye, even laying hold of children and boys for the brass buttons on their clothes, in spite of all our good treatment of them and kindness within and without the Fort with a view to entice them.'¹

The Commander himself, on paying a second visit to one of the encampments, presumably that of 'Herry's allies', found the passage to the camp

'very well occupied by about 30 active fellows, their skins and cloaks thrown off, and entirely naked, without the least encumbrance in the world, well provided with assaegays and bows and arrows; on coming yet nearer to take a look at their encampment, we held out the hand with a friendly gesture, on which some instantly knew us and came on, kissing their hands, and giving us the hand also, and we embraced each other, like the greatest friends in the world; so that we had again a suit of clothes destroyed, from the greasiness of the oil and filth with which they, and particularly the greatest among them, had so besmeared themselves, that they shone like looking glasses in the sun, the fat trickling down their heads and along their whole bodies, which appeared to be the greatest mark of distinction.'²

In a dispatch to the Directors, dated April 22, 1654, van Riebeeck put forward a proposal for taking revenge upon this particular horde. Without explicit orders, however, from the Directors, he refused to allow any violence, though he had considerable difficulty in restraining members of the garrison. The state of tension, as it now existed between the Europeans and at least some of the Hottentots, is described in the following terms:

'The Hottentoos, namely Herry's allies, came grazing their cattle within sight and about $\frac{1}{2}$ myl from the Fort, but they would not barter one; we have enough to do to keep our people from them, who are disposed as they have little to eat, as those people have stolen our cattle which are still among them, and murdered the boy—to set upon them and take their cattle, and in these hard times rather to take just revenge upon that treacherous gang, than suffer hunger any longer. . . .'³

During the winter months these natives, instead of moving off as usual, remained in the vicinity of the Fort, molesting and robbing the Europeans whenever they could get the chance. Herry's people, in the meantime, had returned to their old haunts and

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 42, Journal, Jan. 3, 1654.

² *Ibid.*, p. 47, Journal, Apr. 4, 1654.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 50, Journal, Apr. 25, 1654.

were received with the usual professional kindness in return for which they were of some service in fetching firewood. But the cattle trade had come to a complete standstill and when, later in the year, other tribes from the interior were known to be in the neighbourhood, the presence of Herry's allies made trading with the new-comers impossible. All working parties beyond the protection of the Fort had to be guarded by soldiers armed with muskets. On one occasion about fifty of the natives began to erect their huts close to the Fort-ditch and

'civilly desired by our people to go a little further off, boldly intimated that this was not our land, but theirs, that they would place their huts wherever they chose, and if we were not disposed to permit them so to do, they would attack and kill us with the aid of many people from the interior.'¹

The tribe of the Kaapmans, and especially that section of it known as 'Herry's allies', had evidently come to resent the continued presence of the Europeans on territory to the free use of which they laid a special claim—a right which was apparently acknowledged by the other tribes, such as the genuine Saldanhars or Cochoquas, who would only approach the Fort when the Kaapmans had moved away.² They may have hoped, by refusing to supply cattle themselves and by making it as difficult as possible for supplies to be obtained from other sources, to get rid of these intruders who were always asking for cattle. For the time being, however, the crisis was postponed by the unexpected return of Herry to the Fort, accompanied by a party of strange natives who brought with them a herd of fine cattle, a number of which were successfully bartered. The plausible story with which Herry accounted for his desertion appears to have half convinced the Commander, for he was pardoned and taken into favour again. At any rate, he had exerted himself with success in reviving the cattle trade and, on that score alone, almost anything, short of actual murder, might be forgiven him. The situation was still further improved by the sudden departure of the Kaapmans, of whom van Riebeeck in his latest dispatch had written: 'We declare also as we have often stated before, that we suffer so much injury and abuse from these Caepmans, that it is no longer to be borne.'³

For the time being, however, the Directors declined to approve of van Riebeeck's proposal to kidnap the offenders, as appears from the following extract of a dispatch from the Council of Seventeen:

'For the reasons which you have stated, we approve of your having

¹ Ibid., p. 58, Journal, Feb. 10, 1655.

² Ibid., p. 59, Journal, Apr. 2-3, 1655.

³ Ibid., p. 68, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, July 4, 1655.

pardoned Herry and re-employed him as interpreter; but as to your proposal in order to be rid of the Caepmans, whom you before called Herry's allies, to get them into our power and, in consideration of the intolerable annoyance we have from time to time sustained from them, to keep them as slaves, to send some to Batavia, to employ some in killing seals, and others to fetch wood in chains: we have thought fit to order you to wait a little longer, as, before finally determining upon the subject, we shall await the receipt of further advices from you, that we may see how they behave themselves in the interval; we must not have recourse to such extreme remedies except slowly, nor until matters appear to be quite desperate. . . .¹

In the same dispatch reference is also made to the proposal of digging a canal in order to separate the peninsula from the mainland. The existence of such a clear-cut boundary, segregating the Europeans in an area reserved for them, would, no doubt, have removed some of the friction caused by the proximity of unfriendly natives. As a solution, however, of the problem created by the presence of the Europeans, it could be no more than a temporary device for easing a situation which would remain explosive so long as the relations between the two races were not more clearly defined.

Apart from the difficulties between the Europeans and the Hottentots that were becoming more and more acute, a good deal had come to light with regard to the relations of the various tribes or clans to one another. Between the Kaapmans and the clan later known as the Tobacco Thieves or Gorachquoas there appeared to be some kind of alliance. At any rate, when they were not bickering with one another, they were united in their hostility against the Saldanhars, a much more powerful group, very rich in cattle, and residing at some distance to the north-west. The policy of the former appeared to be to prevent, as much as possible, free access by the Saldanhars to the Europeans at the Fort and to act as brokers in the cattle trade. The whole complex of intertribal and interracial relations is well described by van Riebeeck in a letter to the Chamber of Seventeen:

"The trade in cattle still continues to go on very well although Herry, Caepman and their associates are rather prejudicial to it—they are, if we would, nicely in our power, for they are living in three or four parties, with fully two thousand head of cattle and sheep, about the Company's possession, without ever selling us anything, but holding themselves as brokers between us and others who come from the interior; pretending also that it is owing to them that others come, and that but for them, none would come; though experience every day convinces us to the contrary, namely: that they seek only their own gain, without parting with any

¹ Moodie, op. cit., p. 75, Dispatch from the Chamber XVII, Oct. 30, 1655.

of their own; and to become rich in cattle, which they graze all about together with ours; and although we often desire them to keep a little further off, they still insist, on the grounds above stated, that they have well merited—at least to be allowed to reside, with their cattle, under our protection, with occasional bold allegations besides, that the land belongs to them, and not to the Hon. Company, and so forth. . . .¹

4. *Freemen and Slaves*

Into the difficult situation constituted by the relations between the Hottentots and the Europeans in the service of the Company two new elements were now to be introduced that would create still further complications. The aim of the Directors in establishing the settlement had been to provide a plentiful supply of fresh meat and vegetables for the crews of passing vessels. These supplies were by this time available in sufficient quantity and, from that point of view, the success of the experiment seemed assured. On the other hand, the expenses of the establishment were heavy. Food supplies, such as wheat and rice, had to be imported while the wage bill of the Europeans in the service of the Company was very high. Paid labour, especially that of the Company's rank and file, was always an expensive item. Very soon, therefore, suggestions for some alternative scheme that would bring about a reduction of expenditure while securing the main aim of the settlement, were being considered. One of the first of these suggestions, put forward by van Riebeeck himself, and which continued to be toyed with for several years, was that of introducing Chinese cultivators from Java. There is not the least doubt that, had there been any Chinese available, every encouragement would have been offered them to settle at the Cape. In a letter from the Council of India to van Riebeeck, the following occurs:

'We have not been able to persuade any Chinese to leave their country for such a distant land and with such uncertain prospects.'²

And again, several years later, in a letter from the same Council we read:

'We shall do our best in order to promote agriculture to send you some industrious Chinese or Mardykens. It may be that we may persuade some impoverished Chinamen to go, but no Mardykens will leave this for the Cape.'³

¹ Ibid., p. 86, Extract from a Letter to the Chamber, Amsterdam, June 10, 1656.

² Leibbrandt, *Précis of the Archives, C.G.H.: Letters and Documents Received, 1649-1662*, Dec. 24, 1652.

³ Ibid., Dec. 4, 1656. Compare also Dispatch, Jan. 31, 1657: 'We would have liked to send you some Chinese volunteers for agricultural purposes but all were unwilling and could not be persuaded to go.'

The next best thing seemed to be to send Chinamen banished for crime or, again at van Riebeeck's suggestion, Chinese insolvents to work in chains. Although of the former a very few were sent, of the latter the Council in the same letter sagely remarks: 'You will observe, therefore, that it will be very injudicious to send any Chinese to the Cape against their inclination so that you need not depend upon them for help.' On the other hand, the hope expressed by the Council that 'the natives will be sufficiently inclined for service to do all kinds of work instead of slaves' must have appeared to van Riebeeck, in the light of his experience since his arrival, as little more than a day-dream. The other alternative, of course, was the introduction of slaves 'which would save a great deal of wages, slaves only costing their food'.¹ But for the first few years of the settlement, no slaves could be spared from any of the other possessions of the Company to be sent to the Cape. The Directors in Holland, in the meantime, rather to van Riebeeck's surprise, since 'we were not aware that your Honours would be inclined to establish a colony here',² had asked van Riebeeck to report upon the advisability of settling a few families 'for the purpose of growing rice, wheat or other grain, and for breeding cattle'.³ The report was favourable and, in due course, van Riebeeck was authorized 'to grant freedom to such persons, as have from experience acquired a knowledge of the country, and who are in a condition to maintain themselves without burden to the Company, by breeding cattle, or otherwise. . . .'⁴

The site near the Rondebosjen, selected by van Riebeeck for this new experiment, happened to be occupied at the time of its inspection by a considerable body of Kaapmans, including Herry, who 'hearing us talk of building houses here and there (for some of them speak Dutch so well that an interpreter is scarcely wanted) asked us, if we built houses, and broke up the ground which they observed to be our intention, where should they live? (for they now lay just on the spot chosen by some freemen) we replied that they might live under our protection, and that there was room enough everywhere for them to

¹ Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, Dispatch from Council of XVII, Oct. 30, 1655.

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, Dispatch, Apr. 28, 1655, p. 60. Van Riebeeck himself, very soon after his arrival, in a dispatch dated May 16, 1652, had written to the Council of Batavia on the desirability of settling freemen at the Cape, though he refrained from raising the matter with the Council of Seventeen for reasons given in the following extract from another dispatch: 'Had a conversation with Hon. Denner regarding the settlement of freemen here; but he adduced such good arguments to prove the inconvenience of the plan that we did not say a word about it to the Masters, whose chief object is to have a station here for breeding cattle to refresh the crews, and rear vegetables. . . .' Dispatch to Council of Batavia, Apr. 26, 1653. Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*

³ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 54, Dispatch, Oct. 6, 1654.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75, Dispatch, Oct. 30, 1655.

graze their cattle; that we were going to employ this land to grow bread and tobacco, when we would, like good friends, give them a share, on which they expressed themselves satisfied, but it might be easily seen that it was not quite to their mind.¹

A small fort was erected with a couple of soldiers from the garrison to protect the cultivators and to guard the Company's cattle post at the Rondebosjen. Finally, in February 1657, two small parties of freemen who had now exchanged the status of Company servants for that of Company subjects, were allotted grants of land on both sides of the Liesbeek River. In the following month van Goens, on his way to India, spent some time at the Cape as Commissioner; and in April, before his departure, issued a number of instructions, some of which dealt specifically with the freemen. They were themselves to carry out the labour of cultivating the ground with the aid of European servants or *knechts* discharged from the Company's service. They were to be encouraged to rear live stock and were to be permitted to buy sheep and cows from the Hottentots at the same prices as paid by the Company. Their chief task, however, was to be the growing of corn, and for that reason they were not to be allowed to cultivate tobacco nor to use corn land for pasture.

'None but married men of good character and of Dutch or German birth were to have ground allotted to them. Upon their request, their wives and children were to be sent to them from Europe. In every case, they were to agree to remain twenty years in the country.'²

At this time the European population at the Cape numbered 134, of whom 100 were in the service of the Company, 10 were free burghers, 6 married women, 12 children, and 6 convicts. In addition there were 10 slaves—3 males and 7 females. During van Riebeeck's regime a total of 195 letters of freedom or *vrybrieven* was issued, but not all those granted their freedom applied themselves to agriculture. 'Thus we find 'free' fishermen, woodcutters, lime burners, brick makers, bakers, masons, tailors, hunters, a brewer, a miller, and a keeper of a tap-house.'³ In fact, every kind of pursuit of which the Company could relieve itself was followed by the freemen, with a corresponding reduction in the number of Company servants and in the expenses of the establishment. There was one activity, however, in which a keen official interest continued to be displayed. Van Goens, as we have seen, had given permission

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93, Journal, Feb. 20, 1657.

² Theal, *Chronicles of Cape Commanders*, p. 71.

³ E. C. Godee-Molsbergen, *De Stichter van Hollands Zuid-Afrika*, p. 117. According to the same author, only 12 out of the 153 freemen of van Riebeeck's day have left descendants, either in the direct or indirect line, in South Africa (*op. cit.*, pp. 120-1).

to the freemen to engage in trade in cattle with the Hottentots provided that they did not pay higher prices than the Company. This concession was very strongly disapproved of by van Riebeeck, and shortly afterwards withdrawn on the instructions of the Council of Seventeen. This attempt to prohibit private cattle trading only drove it into illicit channels and, for many years to come, it continued to engender difficulties between the Company, the freemen, and the natives.

Although it had been prescribed that only 'married men of good character' were to be discharged and receive their letters of freedom, it would seem that, in actual practice, the selective process was not nearly as rigid as it might have been. According to his successor, van Riebeeck appears to have exercised very little discretion in granting letters of freedom. As a result, these freemen of van Riebeeck's day were not, on the whole, a desirable class, being, no doubt, no better than the average of the rank and file of the Company's service which, at that time, according to Theal, 'had a most disreputable name in Europe. A scarcity of seamen had first caused the Company to make use of a set of wretches whom they termed agents, but who were known to everyone else by the odious name of kidnappers. These persons were constantly busy endeavouring to entice the unwary and vagabonds of all the countries of Western Europe into the service of their employers. . . . It is not surprising that men, to free themselves from such a life, should be willing to accept grants of land in South Africa on the terms prescribed by Commissioner van Goyen, and it is still less surprising that in general they made very unwise and improvident citizens.'¹

From the point of view of the Company, or rather of their local representatives, there was no choice but that of making use of such material as was available, while, from the point of view of those who took their discharge, life at the Cape as freemen was probably the lesser of two evils. In any case, the addition of this new element could only tend in the direction of making the relations between the Europeans and Hottentots more difficult and of increasing the causes of racial friction.

Hitherto, the number of slaves at the Cape had been negligible. Of the few, all were privately owned and in the domestic service either of van Riebeeck or of one or two of the other officials. Several requests from the Cape for the importation of Company slaves for the tougher kinds of work, such as the seal industry, could not be

¹ Theal, *Compendium of the History of South Africa*, p. 75. For a contemporary account of the methods of recruiting employed nearly a century later see Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia made between the years 1770 and 1779*, vol. 1, pp. 73 toll.

met since all the slaves were required in the other possessions of the Company. Thus, in a communication from the Council of Batavia, van Riebeeck is informed:

'We shall not, however, comply with your request of asses, horses and slaves as the return ships are too much crowded by carrying these animals. We are likewise poorly provided with good slaves so that the Company's work has mostly to be done by paid labour—a general inconvenience in India where slaves are more required than at the Cape.'¹

The difficulty of supply was unexpectedly solved by the arrival of a Company's vessel at the Cape in March 1658 with 170 slaves on board, the survivors of 250 who had been taken from a Portuguese slave trader captured at sea. In the following May another Company's vessel arrived with 228 slaves from the Guinea Coast. There was now a glut of slaves at the Cape, but 172 were dispatched to Batavia, leaving 226 slaves in the settlement which the year before had contained 134 Europeans. In the meantime, the Company had embarked upon the policy of establishing freemen in agriculture and in other occupations as a means of cutting down expenses. The importation of slaves was meant, in the first place, to serve the same purpose. Thus:

'You are to treat the slaves well and kindly, to make them better accustomed to, and well disposed towards us; they are to be taught all kinds of trades that in course of time the advantage of such instruction may be beneficial to yourselves, and a large number of Europeans be excused.'²

The Company intended to use the slaves mainly for the work of the Company, for when the free agriculturists had been established the year before, it was anticipated that they, with the assistance of European servants, would do their own manual work.³ But it was manifestly difficult to import slaves for the use of the Company alone while, at the same time, denying their services to the freemen, especially in view of the fact that there was no scarcity of slaves. Permission, therefore, was granted by the Council of Seventeen, and the freemen were allowed to acquire two or three slaves each, payment to be made in kind to the Company.⁴

¹ Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, Dispatch, Dec. 24, 1655.

² *Ibid.*, Dispatch from Chamber, Amsterdam, Mar. 31, 1657.

³ That, at any rate, appears to have been the point of the oft-quoted remark of van Goens: 'In conclusion, I once more recommend you to attend above all to the support of the cultivation of grain; we shall never become noblemen here, until we shall first have been good Farmers (Boers).' Instructions for Mr. Jan van Riebeeck, Apr. 16, 1657. Moodie, *op. cit.*, footnote (2), p. 97. Van Riebeeck, however, had always insisted that the free agriculturists would require slaves.

⁴ Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, Dispatch from Chamber, Amsterdam, Apr. 16, 1658.

This policy of allowing the freemen to become slave-owners was strongly disapproved of by the Council of India, who in a dispatch to the Cape expressed themselves in the following terms:

'In our opinion, the Colony should be worked and established by Europeans and not by slaves, as our nation is so constituted that as soon as they have the convenience of slaves they become lazy and unwilling to put forth their hands to work, and this is a great failing in India among the Dutch, and because of it the Company will never succeed in its real object in founding Colonies in these parts, and this failure could be prevented at the Cape completely if only a fair number of freemen would make up their minds to settle there.'¹

But the pressure of circumstances proved too strong, and slaves, imported to serve the Company, were also passed on to the freemen.

The newly arrived slaves, most of whom came from Angola, soon began to desert in large numbers both from the Company and from their owners, the freemen. It was believed that they were incited to do so by the Kaapmans, for the latter showed very little inclination to assist in the search for the runaway slaves. The Commander and Council, thereupon, resolved to take vigorous action to secure the return of the slaves,² and the two sons of the captain of the Kaapmans were seized while in the Fort and detained as hostages. This step had the desired effect, and several slaves were returned. At the same time, it was resolved to entice Herry into the Fort and to seize his cattle, partly to placate the Kaapmans who had accused him of being the cause of the present trouble, and partly to discover the truth at last about the seizure of the Company's cattle and the murder of the European herdsman which the Commander had neither forgotten nor forgiven.³ In due course Herry was enticed, and a party sent to seize his cattle, which was effected successfully though not without fatally wounding one of his people. In the presence of the Commander and Council, Herry and the captive Kaapmans were confronted by one another, and a good deal of dirty linen was washed in public. In the end, it appeared that all had been implicated but that Herry was the worst culprit, 'the father of thieves and the first cause or *causa movens*'.

The dispute was finally settled by the release of the hostages and a formal treaty, concluded by the shaking of hands all round and ratified by an exchange of gifts, was entered into between the Company and the Kaapmans.⁴ The latter agreed to remain on the

¹ Leubbrandt, op. cit., Dispatch from the Council of India, Dec. 13, 1658.

² Moodie, op. cit., p. 28, Resolution of Council, June 22, 1658.

³ Ibid., p. 131, Resolution of Council, July 3, 1658.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 133-4, Journal, July 5, 1658.

east, or farther side, of the Salt and Liesbeek Rivers and not to trespass with their cattle upon the cultivated lands of the Company and of the freemen. If they were attacked by enemies, they might take shelter near the Fort under the protection of the Company. They were not to interfere with the other clans who wished to visit the Fort for trading purposes. Runaway slaves were to be given up, and offenders on either side were to be punished by their own people in the presence of the injured party. Herry was not included in this agreement since he was now without friends either among the Kaapmans or on the side of the Company. His fall was complete, and the 'former interpreter or (as the English were in the habit of calling him) King Herry was transported from his kingdom at this further point of Africa, to Robben Island, as also two of his companions'.¹

But the slaves, who were the immediate cause of the preceding events, continued to desert, especially from the freemen, to whom they were a source of so much trouble and anxiety that these were obliged to beg the Commander to be relieved of them. The first experiment in private slave ownership at the Cape had not been a success. Nevertheless, the taste for the labour of others in agriculture had been acquired, for, according to Theal, the freemen had begun

'to aspire to a position in which their work would consist in directing others, and everything in the circumstances of the country favoured such a desire. There was thus a constant call upon the government, which may be summed up in the words *provide us with cheap labour*.'²

5. *The First Hottentot War*

Van Goens, in his instructions to van Riebeeck, mentions the three possible ways of dealing with the problems presented by the presence of the Hottentot clans in the neighbourhood of the Fort, and considers them each in turn. The first and best way is to establish a line of fortifications and guard-houses which will cut off their communications with the settlement and which will, at the same time, enable the further tribes, such as the Saldanhars, to approach the Fort with their cattle. The expense of this plan, however, is so great that it cannot be undertaken without further consideration and express instructions from the Directors. The second way is to make a clean sweep of all the local Hottentots by seizing them and banishing them from the country. This, however, would be 'barbarous and unchristian', and would never meet with the approval of the Directors except as a last resort. The third way

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 136, Journal, July 10, 1658.

² Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 89.

would be to come to such terms with the Hottentots that no further harm need be apprehended at their hands. Unfortunately, the 'bestly and brutal nature' of the natives makes this course impossible although it is the most desirable of them all. Van Goens, therefore, concludes by advising van Riebeeck to continue his conciliatory policy as heretofore, but not to tolerate any overt act of theft or aggression; in case of any such act, to seize some of the natives until the culprit is surrendered. For theft, the offender is to be banished to Robben Island, while in the case of murder, the guilty party must be punished by death—the execution, if possible, to be performed by the Hottentots themselves.¹

Fortified by these instructions and encouraged by the brighter prospects of the settlement as the result of the cattle trade with the Saldanhars, van Riebeeck wasted no time in planning a system of redoubts that would serve to keep the local natives in check and protect the lands of the Company and of the freemen. For the present, only a small redoubt was erected in the middle of the cornlands, since the Directors refused to sanction any expensive scheme. When some cattle belonging to one of the freemen were driven off by the Kaapmans, their captain, an elderly fat warrior by the name of Gogosa, who could not run as fast as the rest, was detained by the freemen with the approval of the Commander, whereupon the cattle were restored.² We have already seen what action was taken by van Riebeeck to recover the runaway slaves and the general clearing-up of the points at issue between the Europeans and the Hottentots that took place on that occasion. With Herry out of the way and a treaty concluded with the Kaapmans, it seemed as if a *modus vivendi* between the two races had been reached at last. But, in reality, such a treaty was quite worthless when we bear in mind the conditions under which it was concluded, the differences that divided the two parties, and what Mr. van Goens would have called the 'bestly and brutal nature' of the Hottentots. Nevertheless, in a dispatch to the Directors, van Riebeeck writes in an optimistic vein:

'Coming to the point, we may mention that according to your instructions and orders matters are in a desirable state here, both as regards cultivation and the breeding of cattle, as well as the bartering of the same from the real Saldanhars, so that at present, we have not only abundance but can depend on ourselves alone, and are also beginning to have some over.

'... In time we shall be able to pay off both these tribes [the Kaapmans and Tobacco Thieves] for what they have done. In fact they would

¹ Leibbrandt, *Letters and Documents Received, 1649-1662*, Instructions, Apr. 16, 1657.

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 125, Journal, May 12, 1658.

already have been paid off, if we had only received the horses promised us, as with twenty horsemen, instead of the entrenchments and at much less cost, we could become the masters of all these aboriginals, especially of both the above-mentioned, who are sufficiently rich in exceedingly beautiful cattle, which can easily be seized for the Company, whilst since Herry's ruin they have been brought to such fear and good devotion, that not one of them would any longer think of causing even the least trouble to a child of the Netherlanders, so that in this respect, praise be to God! the freemen are living very securely and have won this season a large quantity of grain, so much indeed that the half can hardly be stored in the barns.¹

Within a few months after this dispatch had been written the state of affairs had unexpectedly and rapidly taken a turn for the worse. The Kaapmans, allied with the more powerful clan of the Tobacco Thieves, now began a systematic and guerilla-like warfare against the Europeans. They appeared to be under the direction of one, Doman or Anthony by name, who had been to Batavia, where he had learned the use of fire-arms. The position of the freemen most exposed to their raids soon became desperate, and the Commander and Council were petitioned by them to take active measures against the Hottentots. For some time van Riebeeck hesitated, since he still hoped to save the treaty that had been ratified with such formality less than a year ago. At last the Council resolved, in view of the 'malicious robbing, stealing and other annoyances committed in the last few days by the Caepmans', to take

'the first opportunity as being the best, to attempt suddenly to surprise and attack them with a strong force, taking as many cattle, and as many male prisoners as possible, avoiding at the same time, as much as possible, all unnecessary bloodshed, but keeping the prisoners as hostages, so as thus to hold those who may escape, in check and subjection—in hopes that quiet may thus be restored.'²

The 'war' that followed proved to be a serious affair for the settlement. Although all its resources were engaged—the soldiers of the garrison and the Company's servants, the freemen, and even some of the slaves—little or no damage could be inflicted upon the enemy. The natives were too well served by their sentinels to be surprised, and too agile to be overtaken on foot without the aid of horses. The wet weather made it difficult for the Europeans to use their fire-arms, a fact which, thanks to Doman, was well known to the natives. One expedition, consisting of 150 men, more than half of whom were reinforcements landed from a ship that had

¹ Leibbrandt, *Letters dispatched from the Cape, 1658-1665*, Jan. 15, 1659.

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 163, Resolution, May 19, 1659.

arrived in Table Bay, which set out at night to deliver a surprise attack, discovered that the enemy had decamped, and was obliged to return without having fired a shot.¹ On the other hand, the natives, operating in small parties, continued to raid with such successful results—driving off the cattle and alarming the freemen—that for a while all farming activity ceased. Only four farms, besides the Company farm and the Commander's private farm, Bosheuvel, 'on the remotest frontier', remained occupied. Occasionally, small parties of the enemy were surprised; and in one of these encounters, three Kaapmans were killed and two wounded, one of them being Doman, who escaped, while the other was captured and taken a prisoner to the Fort. From this prisoner, before he died, a very clear account of the aims of the belligerent Hottentots was obtained.²

After this encounter, the Kaapmans and their allies, the Tobacco Thieves (alias the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachquoas), withdrew from the neighbourhood and, for the time being, the settlement was left in peace. The plans to provide a defensive boundary were revived. Three guard-houses—Kyckuyt, Keert de Koe, and Houd den Bul—were constructed on the outer boundary along which it was proposed to plant a thick hedge of wild almond in order to prevent the natives from driving off the cattle. The situation created by the war was viewed with much pessimism by the Governor-General and Council in India.

'On perusal of your earlier letters we observed with satisfaction that everything at the Cape, particularly the cultivation and the rearing of live stock - was in a prosperous condition; this led us to hope, that, as a matter of course, the Company had fully attained its principal object there; but we subsequently learnt, to our sorrow, that the long smothered fire of discontent among the Hottentots, had burst into flame, and that they had commenced - without having received any cause of offence—to steal the freemen's cattle, to lay waste the corn fields, and thus to do all possible injury; aye, even - in their way—to wage open war against us. . . . We fear that this unfortunate blow, with whatever degree of courage you may have encountered it, will shake the Cape Colony—which has already cost the Company so much expense—entirely to pieces; and that the Residency there, producing no return, will always be a burden on the Company. We never entertained any high idea of the Cape scheme; there was far too much said at the commencement, of what we must now see turning out most unfortunately; however, what is done cannot be undone.'³

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, Resolution, July 12, 1659; *ibid.*, pp. 183-4, Journal, July 16, 1659.

² *Ibid.*, p. 186, Journal, July 29, 1659.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-7, Dispatch from Batavia, Dec. 15, 1659. Also Leibbrandt, Part I, 'Letters Received', p. 142.

By the time this rather depressing dispatch had arrived at the Cape negotiations for peace had already begun. On April 6, 1660, a treaty was concluded with the Kaapmans, followed, a month later, by a treaty with the Tobacco Thieves. The grievances of the Hottentots against the Europeans were freely aired, but they could obtain very little satisfaction.

'This day peace was renewed at the Fort with the captain and chief of the Caepmans, Herry, and all the principal and oldest of the tribe; . . . They dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle. They also asked, whether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in the same manner. . . . They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture. . . .

'In opposition to this they complained much that the colonists, and others living in the country, had given them much annoyance, with now and then perhaps stealing a sheep or a calf, taking away from them their beads, earrings, and bracelets, and giving them to their slaves, also with beating and pushing, without the Commander knowing exactly about it all (in which there is some truth) and that they therefore, not being able to bear this any longer, had resolved to take revenge by stealing the cattle; and thus they roundly maintained that they had cause enough.'

With regard to their main grievance, namely, exclusion from the land used for the European farms and pastures, the natives were informed that the land had been forfeited to the Europeans, who, having taken possession of the land and defended it by the sword, intended to keep it, if necessary, by the sword. With regard to their second main grievance, they were promised ample redress in future, provided that they reported all such cases to the authorities.

Thus ended the first main phase in the race contacts between Europeans and Hottentots. As a result, the relations between the two races were now placed on an entirely different footing which could only tend progressively to favour the Europeans at the expense of the natives. The implications of the changed situation might take some time to work themselves out, but the end was inevitable. Writing more than fifty years later when that end was largely a matter of fact, and the Hottentots reconciled to a position of complete subordination to the Europeans, Valentyn remarks of this period:

'Zy (de Hottentotten) zyn jegenwoordig met ons wel in een goed verstand, maar plagten in vorige tyden met ons overhoop te leggen, . . .

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 205, Journal, Apr. 6, 1660. Herry, with his two companions, had made a daring escape in a leaky boat to the mainland shortly after the failure of the expedition of the 150, mentioned above. Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 96.

en waarby zy ons goede blyken (gaven) dat zy hun regt zoo wel als wy (verstonden), en dat men hen geenzins voor zoo gek, als zy van zommigen wel gehouden worden, verslyten moet.¹

¹ F. Valentyn, *Beschryvinge van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, p. 112. [Tr.: 'They (the Hottentots) are at present on a good footing with us, but in earlier times were often at odds with us, . . . whereby they showed sound proofs that they understood their rights as well as we, and that they are in no wise to be dismissed as so foolish as they have been held by some to be.']

III

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL SITUATION

1. *The Half-way House*

THE decade of van Riebeeck's commandership which covers the first main phase of the European settlement at the Cape ended with that settlement firmly established. To us, at the present time, the significance of the period lies in the fact that the new settlement would come in time to serve as the starting-point for a vigorous European expansion overseas. To the contemporaries of van Riebeeck, on the other hand, its sole significance lay in the fact that the experiment of a refreshment and provision station had met with a certain measure of success. As such, the European outpost at the Cape was quite unique of its kind, for it had been established neither for the sake of trade nor of defence nor of colonization. If anything, it might be compared with a kind of glorified caravanserai which had been erected at a favourable spot on a long sea route. In that character, it signified for those who made use of it the completion of a definite stage in an interminable voyage. It marked a turning-point, since to arrive at the Cape from the West was to have reached the gateway to the East, while to leave the Cape for the West meant leaving India and the East behind.

For those who were stationed at the Cape this character as a settlement with a very limited purpose was a constant embarrassment. They had not come to trade because there was nothing (except cattle) that could be traded for, and yet they lived in hopes that somewhere in the interior a Monomotapa might still be found; they had not come to colonize because they had neither the means nor the incentive to do so, and yet they created freemen who could not go on being treated merely as ex-Company servants; they could not take up an aggressive attitude towards the natives because there was no other source of supply for cattle, and yet they could not tolerate their propinquity. Because of its anomalous position, the Cape settlement could have no characteristic policy of its own—it was obliged, so to speak, to live from hand to mouth as expedient followed expedient. During van Riebeeck's régime, and for some time to come, the centre of gravity of the settlement lay entirely outside itself, since it was merely a rather unimportant but troublesome appendix to a vast system that revolved around Batavia. We have already seen what view was held of the settlement and of its

prospects by the authorities at Batavia at a time when van Riebeeck, after a manful struggle, had nearly succeeded in liquidating his worst difficulties with the Hottentots. The shadow of the Company fell upon every one and everything, for at this time no other point of view or interest was even conceivable. The comments made by the Directors on van Riebeeck's tactful treatment of a deputation of freemen who had presented a petition setting forth their grievances, and on the petition itself, make this abundantly clear:

'Zy (the Directors) hadden het rekest "met aendaecht gelesen en geexamineert doch bevonden 'tselve vol van seditie en oproer te wesen, en 'twelek U.L. mitsdien niet hadden behoren aen te nemen maer voor haer aengesicht gescheurt en verworpen te hebben. . . . Soo sy eenige beswaernissen menen te hebben, laeste het met schuldige eerbiedicheyt remonstreren en wy zullen de reden plaats geven.'" ¹

In such a settlement with no background of its own, the whole mentality, outlook, and attitudes of the constantly shifting European population were still dominated by an environment, very different from the one in which they found themselves. Their adaptation to the new environment could only take place in terms of the already established habits and attitudes which they brought with them. Thus, we expect to find the behaviour of the individuals concerned to be mainly a repetition of European stereotypes with very few or only superficial deviations caused by local circumstances.

2. *Marriage and Baptism*

Within, and upon, the boundaries of the settlement there had come together the most heterogeneous collection of human elements that ever constituted a psycho-social situation. There were the Company officials who combined the functions of trade and of government; there were the Company workmen and soldiers engaged in fulfilling their contracts; there were the freemen, all ex-soldiers, sailors, or workmen of the Company, who were engaged in tempting fortune on their own; there were the slaves and the Hottentots; and, finally, there were the ships' crews who from time to time appeared upon the scene to enjoy the benefits of the refreshment station. Within this complex situation the pattern of relations is not easy to define in any positive way. But with regard to the relations between Europeans and non-Europeans,

¹ Godee-Molsbergen, op. cit. p. 116. [Tr.: "They (the Directors) had read the petition" with care and had scrutinized it but found that the same was packed with sedition and strife, for which reason your Honour should never have accepted it but should have torn it up in their faces and thrown it away. . . . If they profess to have any grievances, let them advance these with humble respect and we shall make room for reason."]

there appears to be ample evidence to show that the factors of race and skin-colour as such played little or no part in determining the attitude of the former to the latter. As we have already pointed out, the line of distinction between groups was less affected by differences of race or colour of skin than by differences of religion. The effectiveness of religion in this respect was, no doubt, due partly to the fact that it happened so frequently to coincide with particular race and colour groups, and even with particular national and social groups, but cutting across these divisions were the distinctions created by differences of religion.¹ Men were, in the first place, Catholics or Protestants, Christians or non-Christians, Mohammedans or Kaffirs; and the greatest prejudice existed where there was the widest difference.

At the Cape, there was opportunity enough of bringing into play attitudes, both positive and negative, which were rooted in religion and which would affect the whole pattern of relations between European and non-European. Thus, a non-European at the Cape, once he had been baptized, was immediately accepted as a member of the Christian community and, as such, was entitled to his freedom, if a slave. The marriage bond, at a time when the marriage ceremony was an exclusive Church monopoly, was only legal when both the parties had been baptized. Even extra-marital relationships were affected by the baptismal condition of one or other of the partners. The following case, although it occurred towards the end of the century and in another settlement, serves to illustrate the point.

'Alsoo den E. Agtb^{re} raad van Justitie der Coromandelsen gouvernements uyt d'eygen Confessie evident, en den regten genoeg zynde, is komen te blyken hoe dat Creyna, heyden, van de Casta parra, out omtrent 23 a 24 Jaren, thans heereengevangen, tot Pall⁴ nu ryum twee jaren ten huysse van den soldaet Jan Mes gediend hebbende, sig niet en heeft ontsien, omtrent ses maanden geleden, aldaar sekere mixtixe Christen dogter, out 16 jaar, gen. Catharina galban, een opvoedeling van voortgen. Jan Mes in desselfs wooning, te beslapen en bezwangeren, synde het een afschuwelyke sake een heyden hem met een Christen soude vermengen, en strydende tegens de goodelyke en menselyke wetten, welke dien volgende ter plaatse daar men regt, en Justitie handhaaft, niet gelden, maar andere ter afschrik en exempel behoort gestrafft te worden.'²

¹ Compare van Riebeeck's differential treatment of the Huguenot and Catholic members of a French ship wrecked in Table Bay in 1660. Vide Theal, *Chronicles*, pp. 101-2.

² Inkomende Brieven, 1699-1700, Cape Archives, 56/133. Original not italicized. [Tr.: 'In so far as it has become evident to the Honourable Council of Justice of the Coromandel Government by his own confession, and being sufficient for the sake of justice, in what way Creyna, heathen, of the Casta parra, aged 23 to 24 years, at present prisone, having already for the space of two years

But to return to the Cape, we find that baptism not only conferred upon the individual a legal status but a social status as well which, in the case of women of full colour, frequently led to marriage with European men. In a community in which white women were at a premium, some sort of connexion with other women, whether slave or native, was inevitable. But in addition to these illicit or casual relations which might exist in spite of social disapproval, there were also regular unions that took place with full social approval and religious sanction. The fact that the men were of a class that would not, and, in any case, could not, exercise any particular choice in the selection of wives is not by itself a sufficient reason to take these marriages for granted. Thus, we find recorded the marriage of Jan Wouters of Middelburg and Catharina, the daughter of Anthony of Bengal, 'lately a slave but now placed in full freedom by her master, the Commander of the return fleet'.¹ It was this girl who, when she had been baptized, was styled *de eerbare jonge dochter*—a description which, according to Theal, was also applied to the Commander's own nieces, Elizabeth and Sabastiana van Opdorp. Later in the same year there is recorded the marriage of Anthonie Muller of Arnheim and a Bengalese woman,² and in the following year the marriage of Jan Sacharias of Amsterdam, free burgher (he was a 'free' fisherman), and Maria, born in Bengal, 'lately a slave but whose freedom had been purchased by her future husband'.³ These early mixed marriages are all of European men and women of pure blood, either liberated slaves or daughters of slaves from the East, especially from Bengal. On aesthetic grounds there could be no objection to these Bengalese women, and since there was certainly no objection on grounds of skin-colour, they and their children were simply absorbed into the predominantly white community. On the other hand, intermarriage, as distinct from cohabitation,

served in the house of Jan Mes, soldier, has not scrupled, about six months ago, to cohabit there in his house with a certain "mistic" Christian girl, aged 16 years, Catharina galban by name, a ward of the aforementioned Jan mes, and to cause her to be with child, *it being a terrible affair that a heathen should have union with a Christian, and repugnant to the laws of God and man*, for which reason it cannot be tolerated where law and Justice are upheld, but should be punished as a deterrent and example to others.'] *The mixtixe Christen dogter* would, of course, herself be the offspring of a European and a native woman.

¹ Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape, 1651-7, Apr. 26, 1656.

² *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1656.

³ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1657. The way in which the children of these mixed marriages were absorbed is illustrated by the following extract: 'Hier is my ook Een swarte vrouw geweest die een Myt is geweest van grootmoeder—haar naam is Ansiela [i.e. Angela of Bengal], sy is hier getrouwt geweest met een Hollander en haar dochter is de vrouw van . . .'. *Varia uit brieven van Johanna van Riebeeck, kleindochter van J. van Riebeeck. Godee-Molsbergen, op. cit., Appendix.*

between European men and Hottentot women at the Cape was extremely rare. The only known case was that of the 'female Hottentoo', Eva, who had been brought up in the household of van Riebeeck, to whom she had proved very useful in dealing with the Hottentot clans.

For many years Eva was a well-known character at the Cape and there are many references to her in the official records. One such entry in the Journal also throws some light upon the prevailing social conditions:

"This morning we were informed that our interpretress, Eva, who had disappeared last Friday with her two children (won by a European) was staying in the country with a freeman named Thielman Hendrick, whose house is situated right in the way leading to the aforesaid Hottentoots.¹

In the following year Eva, having sowed her wild oats, was baptized and respectably married to Pieter van Meerhoff, surgeon and explorer. This marriage was the social event of the year, for the bride was given a dowry, the bridegroom promoted, and a marriage feast provided by the Commander and Council to mark their approval,

'the rather because through this alliance of the said Hottentoo interpreter Eva—who has long since had herself baptized, and has begun to acquire a taste for our knowledge and our religion - with such a good, sober and respectable man, these native tribes will become more and more attached to us.'²

In 1667 van Meerhoff was sent on an expedition to the south-east coast of Africa, where he was murdered by the natives of Madagascar, and Eva was left a widow. What happened to her after his death is best described in the words of the journalist whose lengthy account is a valuable expression of current opinion at the Cape upon the Hottentot character.

"This day departed this life, a certain female Hottentoo, named Eva, long taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon. van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to a knowledge of the Christian faith, *and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman*, was married to a certain chief Surgeon of the Residency, by whom she had three children, and some others which had died. Since his death, however, at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of

¹ Leibbrandt, op. cit., Journal, Nov. 22, 1663.

² Moodie, op. cit., p. 280, Resolution, Apr. 12, 1664. Eva was the sister-in-law of Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas.

this brutal aboriginal, which was still always hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its own qualities.¹

Eva's legitimate children by van Meerhoff were educated at the expense of the Company, and one of the girls married a well-to-do farmer at the Cape.²

Mention should be made of Eva's two countrywomen and contemporaries, Sara and Cornelia, who had also become partially 'Europeanized'. Sara committed suicide in 1671 by hanging herself after she had been deceived by a European who had promised to marry her, and her body was exposed upon the gibbet as was the custom in the case of suicides. Cornelia appears to have been the least unfortunate of the three, for she lived to a ripe old age, having discarded her European clothes and ways and returned to her skins and her own people.³ As these cases show, intermarriage, as distinct from cohabitation, was most unusual between European men and Hottentot women—a fact which was due partly to the utter contempt of the Europeans for the Hottentots and partly to the failure of the efforts made to convert and baptize them. The life of the natives was so remote from that of the European community and their scale of civilization so low that social contact on anything like grounds of equality such as would have been offered by their conversion to Christianity was out of the question.

The importance attached to the rite of baptism, without which admission to the Christian community was impossible, provides us with another criterion by means of which we can estimate the attitude of the European to the non-European at the Cape. Although there was in Protestant circles at this time no very strong impulse to make converts—the Protestant missionary was still a figure of the remote future—the obligation to make some effort in that direction was universally recognized. At the Cape, for example, the sick-comforter also undertook the duties of school-

¹ Leibbrandt, op. cit., Journal, July 29, 1674. Original not italicized. Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 105.

² For details with regard to Sara, who is described as the 'Dutch female Hottentot', see Moodie, op. cit., footnote (1), p. 315. Valentyn gives an account of Cornelia, whom he met as an old woman while on a visit to the Cape.

master and catechist, and provision was made for instructing the slave children in the doctrines of Christianity. A school for this purpose was opened in 1658 for the benefit of the recently imported slaves, but owing to the difficulties caused by their desertion it was soon obliged to close down. The sick-comforter then turned his efforts in the direction of converting the Beachrangers who hung about the Fort. Although his efforts were attended with such little success that they had to be abandoned,¹ they were encouraged by the Commander and met with the approval of the Directors, who increased his salary as a mark of their appreciation. His successor, appointed in 1663, was able to reopen the school with seventeen pupils—four being slave children, one a youthful Hottentot, and the remaining twelve Europeans.² An entry in the Journal of the same year states:

‘The new sick father, Ernestus Back, besides his ordinary duties, is showing great zeal in teaching both Dutch and Black children to read and learn their catechism. . . . In the same way, the baptized slave children of the Company and the burghers, especially those descended from European or Christian fathers, should be educated and brought to the true knowledge of God—as the said comforter has already done in the case of Armazie, Crisen, Zon and Basoe—a laudable commencement.’³

The slave child of mixed parentage whose father was a European was officially regarded as belonging to the European community and, as such, entitled to freedom after having been instructed in the doctrines of Christianity and baptized. Thus,

‘a young mulatto woman named Catharina, the daughter of a European and a female slave of the Company, asks for her freedom. She has been instructed in the Christian religion and has been baptized. She asks for her freedom in right of her father. The Council grants her request.’⁴

On the other hand, the position and treatment of children both of whose parents were heathen and slave gave rise to a certain amount of dispute. In any case, the number of such children was very limited. In 1671, for example, Commissioner Goske discovered that of the children born of slave mothers at the Cape, only about one-fourth were black, that is, had slave fathers, the remainder being half-breeds. At first, children of pure slave parentage were baptized without question when presented with half-breed children and children of pure European parentage. Such baptism would, of course, have provided them at this time with a strong claim to

¹ After his fruitless efforts the sick-comforter reported that the natives were a ‘seer arm elendich volk na siel ende lichaem, berooft van alle kennisse Godts; leven als het vee’.

² Theal, *Chronicles*, pp. 110 and 140.

³ Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, Journal, Nov. 30, 1663.

⁴ Abstracts of the Debates and Resolutions, Mar. 13, 1680.

emancipation. But, in the East, European opinion was strongly divided, both on religious and on other grounds, as to the propriety of baptizing children of unbelieving parents. The dispute spread to the Cape, and an application was made to Batavia for a decision. Early in 1664 the authorities at the Cape were informed that

'the Ecclesiastical Court at Batavia in conjunction with the Classis of Amsterdam had decided that the children of unbelieving slaves ought to be baptized, provided that those with whom they lived bound themselves to have such children educated in the Christian religion.'¹

The first resident clergyman at the Cape supported this decision, but the dispute still flickered on. In 1666 a visiting clergyman, the Rev. Phillipus Baldeus, created a sensation in Church one Sunday afternoon by protesting, *coram publico*, against the proposed baptism of the child of an unbaptized slave woman. The child, however, was duly baptized the following Sunday after the Commander and Council had unanimously decided to follow the instructions of the Council of India. The question must still have continued to agitate certain minds, but it may have been settled, for the time being, by the following compromise:

'The Rev. Mr. Hulzenaar presents extracts of recent resolutions of the Church Council concerning the baptism of black children. If children whose parents are heathens are presented for baptism, the rite should be deferred and the parents be instructed in Christianity, so as to be baptized at the same time. Children of mixed blood should be baptized.'²

We shall have occasion to see later how this question of baptism continues to be raised from time to time, for many years to come, since the social significance of the rite makes it a very sensitive criterion of the prevailing group attitude towards outsiders.

3. 'De Wilden'

Enough has been said to show that the relations between the Europeans and the Hottentots in the immediate vicinity of the Fort during the first decade of the settlement presented an almost uniform record of disharmony culminating in a so-called 'war' and ending in an equally nominal 'peace'. From the point of view of the Europeans, the natives were only tolerated because, apart from

¹ Theol. *Chronicles*, p. 138.

² Abstracts of the Debates and Resolutions, Dec. 28, 1676. This spirit of compromise appears to have shown itself at about this time at the Cape in more ways than one. Thus, in the Journal of July 25, 1671, the following case is reported: 'The female slave of a certain burgher was this day delivered of twins, the one procreated by a negro and the other by a Hollander, a rare occurrence; and being a different conception, we could not omit mentioning it.' Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*

other considerations, it was recognized that they were a 'free nation'. As such, they were entitled to a certain degree of consideration, since, according to Dutch law, '(the) Aborigines shall be undisturbed in their liberty and never enslaved; they shall be governed politically and civilly, as ourselves, and enjoy the same measure of justice'.¹ But, apart from theory, there was the fact that hostile measures against the Hottentots would have made it very difficult, if not impossible, for cattle to be obtained. Hence the importance of maintaining at any rate outwardly friendly relations while avoiding, or removing, any ground of offence. Again and again, we find the Council of Seventeen, the Governor-General and Council of India, and the Commissioners who from time to time inspected the Cape settlement, impressing upon the Commander and Council of Policy at the Cape the supreme importance of a pacific policy towards the native inhabitants. And without a doubt the Commander loyally endeavoured, as all the evidence goes to show, to give effect to that policy. Actually, the policy was a failure, and we have already seen to what a state of affairs it finally led. 'The attempt to conciliate the natives and to overlook provocations merely led to further provocations.

The encroachments of the Europeans, moreover, upon the pasture lands of the neighbouring clans provided the latter with a legitimate grievance while, at the same time, the attempts that were made to open up the cattle trade with the tribes in the interior served to increase the hostility of these same clans, who saw their monopoly of the cattle trade being threatened. Had the aim of the settlement from the beginning been one of colonization, the situation as it actually developed at the Cape between the Europeans and the Hottentots might never have arisen. As it was, the natives were treated with a degree of consideration that placed them almost in a privileged position. But close contact between the two races under such circumstances only served to multiply incidents and to exasperate the Europeans, whose attitude towards the Hottentots became one of increasing dislike and contempt.² Van Riebeeck

¹ Dutch Law, A.D. 1636, referred to by Voet, lib. I, tit. 5. *De Statu Hominum*, s. 3, and quoted by S. Bannister in the frontispiece to *Huxane Policy*. The law further lays down: 'Good rules shall be made for teaching them, and especially their children, the truths of religion, and the usages of civilized life. And care shall be taken to withdraw them from heathenish customs; and from indolence, the mother of want, to the cultivation of the soil, and to such social habits as their condition and capacity may bear.' These sentiments, needless to say, were more honoured in the breach than in the observance.

² Even to this day at the Cape, the final and most devastating term in the vocabulary of abuse is the epithet: *Jou Hottot*. Comparable with the attitude of the Europeans to the Hottentots appears to be the contemporary attitude of the English to the native Irish. Swift's Yahoos might quite easily have been Hottentots; actually they were the Irish peasants of his day.

himself always referred to the natives as *de wilden*, and his description of them as *deze botte, plompe ende luye stinckende natie* has already been noted. The extreme indolence, 'the mother of want', and the filthy habits of the Hottentots, which were such an offence even in an age when the habits of personal cleanliness and hygiene among the Europeans themselves were not very highly developed, together with their 'beastly and brutal' nature, as seen through European eyes, soon led to the growth of a reputation which became a by-word in the civilized world for all that was degrading and disgusting in human nature.¹ As travellers' pets, the Hottentots provided good copy, and from this time onwards we find a steady and monotonous repetition of the same accounts that almost become traditional in describing the characteristics of this unfortunate race.² Greedy yet lazy, timid yet revengeful, treacherous, and incorrigible thieves, they could not resist exercising their propensities whenever an opportunity presented itself.

In the memorandum which van Riebeeck drew up for the guidance of his successor we are given a valuable account of the various groups or tribes of Hottentots, and of the contacts and relations that existed between them and the Europeans.³ They appear to fall into four categories: first, the Goringhaiconas (or Strandloopers), a small detribalized group, without cattle, who had become completely dependent upon the European community, for whom they performed many menial services, such as

'washing,' scouring, fetching firewood, and other domestic work; and some of them place their little daughters in the service of the married people, where they are clothed in our manner, but they must have a slack rein, and will not be kept very strictly, such appears to be contrary to their nature; some of them, however, begin to be tolerably civilized, and the Dutch language is so far implanted among them, old and young, that nothing can any longer be kept secret when mentioned in their presence.'

secondly, the Goringhaiquas (or Kaapmans) and the Gorachoukas

¹ The *OED* gives as one of the meanings of the word *Hottentot*: 'A person of inferior intellect or culture, one degraded in the scale of civilization.' And compare Salisbury's alleged remark that the Irish were 'a race of Hottentots'.

² It is difficult to find a contemporary description that has not been worn threadbare by quotation, but the following is likely to be less familiar than most. 'They (the Hottentots) are the heathenest people that I have seen, neither knowing good and worshipping neither God nor Devil, going about more like brute beasts than mortal men, and they will eat any raw flesh or guts of beasts which are thrown away.' From Barlow's *Journal*, reviewed in the *Observer*, Apr. 15, 1934.

³ Memorandum, Moodie, op. cit., pp. 246-51.

⁴ Godee-Molsbergen, op. cit., p. 117, states that '(het) wassen viel by de kolonisten dier dagen niet in de smaak. De Nederlandse vrouwen, van hoe eenvoudige afkomst ze ook waren, achtten buiten hun vaderland zich "te genereus en te waardig", voor dat vuile werk.'

(or Tobacco 'Thieves'), the antagonists in the late war, who still possessed considerable wealth in cattle and retained their tribal organization and tribal life independently of the European settlement. They continued to cling to their old haunts in the neighbourhood of the Europeans, to whom they looked for protection. They had evidently become reconciled to their exclusion from those parts of their ancestral pasture lands which were occupied by the Europeans. Many of them were beginning to understand the Dutch language. Thirdly, there were the large and important clans, such as the Cochoquas (or Saldanhars), living at some distance inland towards the north, and the lesser-known Chainouquas, living beyond Hottentots Holland towards the east, with whom the bulk of the cattle trade was carried on and whose relations with the Company officials were firm and friendly; and finally, there were tribes such as the Heusaquas and the Hancumquas, 'the greatest and most powerful of all the race of greasy Hottentoots', about whom little or nothing was known except by hearsay.

The official policy towards those clans with whom the Europeans were in close or direct contact still remained one of conciliation of trying to avoid or minimize all causes of friction between the two races. The natives were to be humoured to keep them in a friendly mood since, if they withdrew or refused to barter their cattle, the success of the settlement would be imperilled. But underlying this official attitude of friendly expediency there were strong undercurrents of intolerance on the part of the Europeans, and a good deal of reciprocal dislike between individual members of the two races whenever they came into personal contact. Those Hottentots who had not yet learned to behave in the way that was expected of them resented being 'thumped and beaten' or called 'black, stinking dogs' by the Europeans who were the victims of their petty outrages. Hence, there was much bickering and quarrelling constantly going on, especially when members of ships' crews came on shore—to all of which van Riebeeck strongly advises his successor to turn the blind eye.

4. *'The Protectors of the Land'*

The freemen who applied themselves to agriculture were settled on both sides of the Liesbeck River in small groups or 'colonies', each consisting of several partners and a few European servants. The lot of these *knechts*, we are told, was a very miserable one,¹ but their services must have been far from satisfactory, both on the score of expense and otherwise, to the freemen for whom they

¹ Godee-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

worked. The freemen, at any rate, were eager enough to acquire slaves when they were given the opportunity of doing so. Under such circumstances, the slaves would have been regarded more in the light of unpaid servants whose labour might be less expensive and more satisfactory than that of hired *knechts*. But the position of the freemen was, and remained, one of great difficulty and discouragement. Although assisted by the Company, even on a generous scale, to establish themselves, they continued to be regarded merely as ex-servants of the Company whose *raison d'être* was to serve the Company's interests rather than as genuine colonists with interests of their own. The result was that many of the freemen were soon engaged in trying to outwit the Company officials and in evading the regulations that hemmed them in on all sides. In every direction, restrictions were imposed upon their freedom of action. The price at which their grain was taken over by the Company was fixed at a very low rate; they were forbidden to sell any of their products to the ships of the Company until its own supplies had been disposed of, though they might sell to foreign ships provided that it was not done too conspicuously.¹

But, most irksome of all, the cattle trade with the Hottentots was absolutely forbidden. In the first of many proclamations issued on this extremely vexatious question, it is stated that

'(whereas) our Honourable Masters in the Fatherland for reasons them thereunto moving,² have directed, that the freemen here at the Cabo, may not buy any cattle or live stock from the inhabitants of this country, but must procure them from the Company (the Company having any to spare) at the price and under the conditions which have been, or may hereafter be fixed. . . . And in order to ascertain with certainty whether the freemen have contravened this order or purchased any cattle, they shall always report all the calves and lambs which are bred—in the same manner as was lately done with regard to the cattle, as also all that they may think fit to slaughter, under the penalties already provided, and also of the confiscation of all such cattle, as may be found, upon occasional visits by persons duly authorised, to be in their possession beyond the number reported. Neither shall they sell to one another any live stock—that is to say, any cattle, sheep or pigs—without the previous consent of the Commander and Council of this Fortress, under an act passed by the Secretary, on pain of nullity, in order that all may go on lawfully, and in good order.'³

The 'freedom' of the freemen was still further curtailed when, four months later, another proclamation was issued prohibiting

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 107, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, Oct. 9, 1657.

² It was owing to the efforts of van Riebeeck himself that the permission given by van Goens to the freemen to engage in the cattle trade was withdrawn.

³ Moodie, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-5, Proclamation, May 4, 1658.

the trade in ivory, rhinoceros horns, and ostrich feathers with the natives, but granting them permission to purchase 'land tortoises, ostrich-egg shells, milk, and such like, so long as our masters do not give orders to the contrary'.¹

Two more proclamations on the subject of the cattle trade followed one another in quick succession, the second of which, in addition to the usual prohibition, contained the following restriction:

'And whereas it is also complained by the Hottentoots that the said Jan Reyniers, on calling them to his house, and being unable to agree with them, compels them by force to part with their property, and beats and pushes them, which consequently is likely to create animosity in place of good will. . . . It is therefore thought right to warn all the freemen of this also, and to notify to them by these presents, that henceforth, and until further orders, they shall not allow any more Hottentoots to come to their houses, still less to enter them, on pain of a fine of 6 reals, in order, as far as possible, to avoid all such injury and inconvenience as aforesaid.'²

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the freemen were far from satisfied with the way in which they were being allowed to enjoy their freedom. Their dissatisfaction soon found expression in a petition which they presented to van Riebeeck.³ In this document they drew attention to their main grievances—the prohibition of any trade with the Hottentots and the low price fixed for their grain—and demanded redress

'for we will not be slaves of the Company. . . . As we are in great danger of one day or other suffering great injury from the Hottentoots, of which the Company's servants are in no danger, for we are the protectors of our land.'⁴

In spite of this brave flourish, the freemen were not taken very seriously by the authorities, who were more impressed by their audacity than by their alleged grievances. At that time the main preoccupation of the Company officials was with the problem of their relations to the natives and, from that point of view, the presence of the freemen was merely a disturbing factor which made the situation more difficult.

To what an extent this was the case may be seen from the behaviour of two of the leading freemen. It was discovered, for example, that Jan Reyniers, who, with his partner, occupied land on the road leading to the Fort, had for some time made a practice

¹ Ibid., footnote, p. 140, Proclamation, Sept. 3, 1658.

² Ibid., pp. 144-5, Resolution, Oct. 24, 1658.

³ See above, p. 40.

⁴ Moodie, *op. cit.*, footnote, p. 151.

of waylaying the Hottentots and detaining them at his house for the sake of hartering the live stock which they were bringing to the Fort. 'This racketeering was the immediate cause of the proclamation, part of which has been cited above. A far more serious affair was that of Herman Remajenne, the principal member of 'Herman's Colony' and a corporal in the burgher militia. After the war with the Hottentots, it came to light that he had been guilty of what virtually amounted to treacherous conduct. On one occasion he had betrayed the presence of a party of Europeans who were lying in ambush, by wilfully exposing himself and so warning the enemy, who made good their escape. He had also, it appeared, paid secret visits to the Hottentots who were actually engaged at the time against the Europeans and, generally, had worked hand in glove with the enemies of his countrymen.¹ The influence which he had acquired over the Hottentots enabled him to carry on an illicit cattle trade with them on quite a large scale until he was finally detected. In spite of his record, Remajenne was very lightly punished, for he and his accomplice were each fined only 20 reals, while three other freemen who were also implicated were acquitted on the ground that they had been misled by the ringleader.²

For the rest, the freemen were no better and no worse than any similar class of men under the stress of similar circumstances. We have seen that their forceful treatment of the natives was one of the grievances brought forward by the latter at the peace negotiations that concluded the war. But the freemen, that is, the agriculturists, had themselves been severely harassed by the attentions of the Hottentots, and during the hostilities many of them had suffered severe losses. And there was another side to the contact between them and the natives. We are told, for example, that the restriction forbidding the freemen to allow the Hottentots access to their houses

'is somewhat hindersome to them, as they are prevented from utilizing the services of the natives and obtaining some milk from the latter, generally for a little tobacco, which milk they are much in need of to help them in their housekeeping, as the cows here give very little milk. Hence we do not carry out this our order too strictly (waerom wy die strickte gebondentheyt oock te min ofte slapper maintneeren) in order not to create in them too great an aversion to their freedom. . . .'³

With regard to the relations between the freemen and their slaves, we are left with the impression that such difficulties as

¹ For details, see Moodie, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-12.

² *Ibid.*, p. 254. Minutes of the Proceedings of the Court of Justice, July 10, 1660.

³ Leibbrandt, *Letters Dispatched*, Mar. 5, 1659, vol. III, 1658-65.

did arise were not due directly to any harsh treatment. Thus, on one occasion,

'nearly all the freemen gave up to the Company, fully one half of their slaves, male and female, they dared not venture to keep them any longer, as it is evident that the slaves are naturally altogether inclined to desert, although they are treated as well as possible.'¹

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 140, *Journal*, Sept. 8, 1658.

IV THE COLONY

1. *The Lull*

AFTER the departure of van Riebeeck in 1662, the *tempo* of affairs at the Cape slowed down very considerably. Not only was van Riebeeck's successor, Wagenaar, a man whose age and temperament unfitted him for any kind of active or restless enterprise, but the policy of the Directors definitely imposed restrictions upon any kind of further expansion or experiment. The optimistic accounts of the settlement, and of its prospects, made by van Riebeeck had proved disappointing, and the Directors were more disinclined than ever to encourage any scheme that went beyond the most limited aim or that involved the Company in any additional expenditure. Their views find expression in the following extract:

'What grand reports have reached us regarding the facilities of the country and wheat culture at the Cape! Yea, it has even been said that it could feed India, but how bad has been the case lately, so that you have not been able to provide even for your own necessities! This course of action by no means edifies us, so that henceforth we expect you to serve us with trustworthy reports. . . . The establishment must be kept within very confined limits there, otherwise the expenditure will become too heavy.'

The disillusioned Directors found in Wagenaar the very man they required for their policy. His unvarnished comments upon the freemen dealt very faithfully with the majority, who were certainly not of the stuff of which a successful colony is made. During his régime very few letters of freedom were granted, while desertion, deportation, and re-employment in the Company's service considerably reduced the total number of the freemen, who had increased out of all proportion to the real needs or resources of the settlement. The disappearance from the scene of these worthless elements could only have had the effect of improving the prospects for that genuine colonization which was to be the most important feature of the coming period. But, for the time being, freemen were at a discount and regarded more as a liability than as an asset to the settlement, as is shown by the following description of them:

'These freemen are still as poorly off as last year; the greater part of

¹ Leibbrandt, *Letters and Documents Received, 1649-1662*. Dispatch from Chamber XXII to Commander Wagenaar, Sept. 17, 1662.

them, particularly the married men, are and continue poor, aye, unless occasionally assisted, they would perish, as they can do little with agriculture, principally on account of their expensive yet unmanageable Dutch servants; this renders the farmers so indisposed to that work, that they try every means of getting quit of it, in order to earn their food by easier employment, the rather that they have for some time observed with looks of sorrow, if not of envy, that the freemen who live near the Fort, now make a good livelihood from the expenditure of our salaried people, by canteens and eating houses; and in the hopes of being allowed to participate in these advantages, several farmers have urgently requested to be allowed to reside somewhat nearer to the Fort; but, as we already have too many of such idlers, who consume, but produce nothing, we have declined all these proposals, and induced them by fair words to return to their former farm work, as it was with that object that they, upon their own proposal, had been made free; representing to them, and assuring them, at the same time, of the kind promises of your Honors, to procure for them and to send them some slaves, to which purpose you have already written to Batavia.¹

In other respects, however, and especially with regard to the cattle trade, the régime of van Riebeeck had left behind it a valuable legacy. This trade, which played such an important part in the economy of the settlement, was in a flourishing condition, and some valuable contacts had been developed with the Chainouqua tribe who lived beyond the mountains to the east. The policy with regard to the natives still remained one of peace and the cultivation of friendly relations wherever possible. As a means to this end, a policy of non-interference with the quarrels between the clans themselves was followed. Thus when, in 1664, Oedasoa, the chief of the Cochoquas, whose jealousy had been excited by the friendly relations of the Chainouquas with the Europeans, wished to make war upon the latter (and/or the Hessequas)² and had proposed, in return for assistance, to present to the Company a large share of the booty in the shape of cattle, his offer was refused by the Commander. The reasons given for this refusal are of some interest, since they show how gingerly the European officials of this time had to proceed in their relations with the more powerful tribes.

"The course adopted is moreover the best and most advisable for the Company, as all those whom he had intended to attack are our friends, and those from whom we still procure the best supply of cattle; this is to him a subject of annoyance, because he would fain have all our merchan-

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 289, extract from Dispatch to Chamber XVII, May 16, 1666. See also Memorandum by Wagenaar to his successor, Sept. 24, 1666. *Ibid.*, esp. pp. 293-4.

² *Ibid.*, Dispatch, Apr. 15, 1664, mentions the 'Housaquas and their adherents', while the Memorandum, 1666, mentions the Chainouquas and their chief, Sousoa (since dead), as those whom Oedasoa wished to attack.

use to himself, in which event he would be able to deal with all the other tribes according to his fancy; and to give us only so many of his cattle as he chooses to part with. Therefore, in our humble opinion, it is best that this man does not become too great, but be kept in his old condition and as he now is.¹

The position of the Europeans, however, over against some of these troublesome tribes was strengthened by the effects of some contagious disease which attacked them in 1663, and again, with greater virulence, in 1665, so that their numbers were considerably reduced.²

2. *Change in Policy*

In the meantime, events in Europe were affecting the fortunes both of the mother country and of the Company in a way that was to have an important bearing upon the future development of the Cape settlement. When the Fort and Garden had been established, the Company had reached the zenith of its power and prosperity. Its only serious rival - the English Company—had been completely discomfited in the struggle for the trade of the Indian archipelago. In Europe the prestige of the United Provinces after the conclusion of the successful struggle against Spain (1648) stood high. The extremely valuable eastern trade together with the carrying and distributing trades maintained by the Dutch ships nearer home, supported by a powerful navy, had raised the country for the time being to a position of great strength. But the renewal of English activity on the seas, as well as overseas, and the ambitions of France in Europe, were soon to bring about not merely a relative, but an absolute, decline in the world position of Holland.

Since the fortunes of the Company were so closely bound up with those of the mother country, any threat which affected the nerve-centres was at once felt throughout the whole system. The immediate effect, therefore, of the outbreak of hostilities in Europe was to lead the Directors to take an added interest in the Cape as a strategic centre which secured the safety of the route to the East. Its importance from that point of view soon decided them to replace the fort which had served as a defence against the natives by a fortress which would protect the settlement from capture by a hostile fleet. Considerations of defence, and not merely of expense, were beginning to play a larger part in determining the attitude of the Company towards the Cape, while the recurrent fear of an external attack remained an important factor in influencing local policy.

A site was chosen (the choice, incidentally, was a very bad one)

¹ Dispatch, loc. cit.

² Memorandum, loc. cit.

and, with due ceremony, the first stone of the new fortress was laid by the Commander in 1666. With the prospect of peace, orders arrived for work to cease and for the garrison to be reduced. In 1672, owing to the threat of hostilities with France, work was resumed, and in 1674 the new 'Castle of Good Hope' was occupied and the old 'Fort of Good Hope' was demolished. It was not, however, until 1679 that the castle was completed, by which time news had arrived that peace had been concluded with France.

Under these circumstances, the Company became concerned not merely about the strength of the local defences, but also about the local resources in the way of man-power that might be available to reinforce the Company's garrison. In a memorandum drawn up by Commissioner van der Broeck, who inspected the Cape in the early part of 1670, we find the following passage:

'But our chief strength and dependence here must consist in the burgers and boers, who, having now increased to eighty-nine men, will (by good management and discretion on the part of the Government), increase more and more. . . . You will constantly exert every endeavour to increase the number of colonists (and if possible of the Dutch nation) helping them to maintain themselves by farming and every honest and lawful calling, so that we may be enabled gradually to reduce the garrison to a small number, and still to defend and maintain our fort and other possessions here without expense, even against foreign enemies.'¹

In a dispatch from the Chamber of Seventeen the report of this Commissioner is commented upon with some unexpectedly cordial references to the freemen:

'We have more particularly examined your letters transmitted by the return fleet last year, together with the reports which Mr. van der Broeck has delivered to us, relative to his proceedings as Commissioner at the Cape; and in the first place, we observe with satisfaction, that upon his arrival there, a company of free burghers and inhabitants, to the number of seventy, . . . were paraded under arms, being all able-bodied men, who will, in time of need, be able to render good service; you will therefore extend to them every reasonable favor and assistance, supplying them, according to the practice of the Company, with a reasonable quantity of necessary articles, in which we have observed that they have recently been very deficient, which causes great discontent, and furnishes ground for serious complaints.'²

From this time on the Directors were more prepared than they had ever been before to encourage a policy of colonization, if only for the sake of strengthening their hold on the Cape. The difficulty, however, was to find suitable colonists since, at that time, neither

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 307, Memorandum, Mar. 14, 1670.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 309-10, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, May 15, 1671. See also memorandum by Commissioner Verbur, Mar. 15, 1676 (*ibid.*, p. 304).

religious persecution nor economic pressure were at work to induce families to leave the Netherlands and settle at the Cape. After van Riebeeck's departure, relatively few additions had been made to the number of freemen, and there was still an overwhelming preponderance of men in the European population. For those families who were prepared to try their fortunes overseas the Cape offered the least attraction of any of the Company's possessions; and foreign nationals, especially those who were the subjects of States that were the rivals and potential enemies of Holland, were for obvious reasons not desired. 'The stream of immigration, therefore', arriving at the Cape from overseas was very small. 'Theal makes mention of a few families arriving after 1670, and again between 1676 and 1678.¹ It was, in fact, only after the appointment of van der Stel as Commander in 1679 that any considerable increase in the number of colonists began to take place. The new Commander whole-heartedly supported the policy of colonization, and the transformation of the Cape settlement into a genuine colony took place under his direction. To obtain colonists, he was obliged at first to resort to the usual practice of discharging servants of the Company. But van der Stel, instead of granting *vervrieven* in an indiscriminate way,² offered to release selected individuals before their time had expired, especially if they had families. According to Godee-Molsbergen,

'only those of good behaviour, who had served at outposts [at the Cape] and knew the difficulties of agriculture, here were set free, and as a guarantee of good conduct they had to leave six months salary in the hands of the Company for two years. This regulation was instituted as a check to the men who applied for release, only with the intention of spending the salary due to them and then to return [?] to service. Still, many professed love for agriculture with no other aim than to live on the frontier, where barter and smuggling with the Hottentots was easy.'³

Fresh attempts were made by the Directors to encourage the emigration of agricultural families, and a small number of orphan girls were sent out to the Cape with a view to providing wives for the unmarried men. Thus, even before the arrival of a fairly large number of French Huguenot refugees in 1688, the European population had increased very considerably, while its character had undergone a marked change since the days of van Riebeeck. In

¹ Theal, *Chronicles*, pp. 169 and 211.

² 'Many people belonging to the ships are daily annoying the Commander with applications to be set free, that they may subsist by farming here; he scarcely knows how to get rid of their importunities'. Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 421, *Journal*, Oct. 3, 1687.

³ Godee-Molsbergen, 'White Population at the Cape before the arrival of the Huguenots', *Proceedings of the S.A.A.A.S.*, vol. vi, 1908.

many ways, a fresh start was being made with new men and new measures. The following statistics of population illustrate some of the changes that took place after the arrival of van der Stel:

1657-1662: Total number of *vrymbrieven* issued: 105.

				Dutch servants	Slaves		
	Men	Women	Children		Men	Women	Children
1672	64	39	65	53	Total, 63		
1679	87	55	117 (Dutch or mixed)	30	133	38	20
1687	254	88	231	39	230	44	36
1691	378	145	313	63	285	57	44
1694	446	195	431	87	325	64	58

3. *The First Expansion*

The year 1670 may be regarded as a turning-point in the early history of the settlement, since it marked the end of the purely negative policy which had been in favour after the departure of van Riebeeck. Although some time was still to elapse before the new policy would begin to take effect, the changes that took place in local conditions during the interval were not without significance for future developments. The contrast between the affairs of the Company, which at this time were in such a favourable state that they could lead Commander Borghorst to write: 'Everything here is, thank God! well, and in a very prosperous state', and those of the freemen who, as agriculturists, were becoming more and more discouraged, was a very striking one. While the Commander was thinking in terms of the cattle trade, which still remained the chief industry of the settlement, most of the freemen had already decided that its second main industry, to which they were restricted, was of very little value to them. Instead of maintaining themselves 'by agriculture, breeding cattle or some other honourable or permitted means', many continued to forsake the country for the town (and the frontier?), where they developed habits and engaged in practices which no amount of exhortation by the authorities could induce them to abandon.¹

It was under these circumstances, when the decline of agriculture had about reached its lowest point, that Commissioner van

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 304, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, Mar. 22, 1669. Thus we read: 'Upon this account it were also to be wished that some of our free inhabitants were as zealous in the culture and establishment of the Colony, as they are solicitous about keeping taverns, and other insufferable practices tending to luxury; it would be at once very profitable to themselves, and better for your Honors; but this mischievous idleness, which may be called the beginning or mother of all other scandalous practices, has so much increased among them, that very little if any effect is produced by exhortation.'

den Broeck visited the Cape and drew up his memorandum. At the same time, he took two measures to revive the languishing industry. In the first place, the price of corn was to be raised in order to encourage the farmers, and, secondly, the Company's farm at Rondebosch was to be leased to freemen. The Company's workmen from Rondebosch were to be placed on a site at Hottentots Holland which, for some time past, had been viewed with a favourable eye by the Commander 'as a very fertile and suitable spot . . . and very useful for depasturing a quantity of cattle'. When the land there had been brought under cultivation, it was also to be given over to freemen, 'so as the better to impart to them the means of obtaining a proper livelihood, and the inclination to increase'.¹ It had become clear to the local authorities that some measure of expansion had become necessary for the health of the settlement, and that a prosperous agriculture required more elbow room than could be provided for by its restriction to the peninsula.² It was not, however, until 1672 that a Company's post was established in Hottentots Holland. Earlier in the same year the Company's representatives, in an attempt to establish a legal right to their occupation of the country beyond the peninsula, had entered into a formal contract with Schacher, the chief of the Kaapmans, to purchase the Cape and with the minor chief of the Chainouquas to purchase Hottentots Holland. But the scheme for increasing the number of freemen who would earn their living by agriculture, even if there had been any available, hung fire for several more years to come.

While these events were taking place, a fresh crop of difficulties began to grow up between the Europeans and a certain section of the Hottentots which, no doubt, accounted for some of the reluctance of the freemen to take up cultivation outside the area of the peninsula. The relations between the Cochoquas and the Chainouquas had become more embittered by the obvious preference on the part of the Company's officials for the latter tribe, who were proving so useful from the point of view of the cattle trade. In this matter a certain Captain Claas (or Dorha) was particularly helpful as a cattle trader with the further tribes such as the Hessequas, and in return for his services had asked to be taken under the protection of the Company. Of the Hottentot captains who were hostile to Claas and his tribe the most formidable was the Cochoqua captain, Gonnema, who had never been on very friendly terms with the Europeans. He had acquired a reputation that

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 307, Memorandum. The number of farmers whose names were returned in Dec. 1672 was only 17. (Footnote, p. 323.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 311, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, May 15, 1671.

led the other clans to live in dread of him,¹ while among the Europeans he had become known and feared for his aggressive behaviour. Thus, a visit of Gonnema and his followers to the neighbourhood of the settlement at the end of 1670 had the effect of creating 'quite a panic among the frontier farmers at Wynberg, some of whom abandoned their houses, which the Hottentots afterwards broke into'.² On another visit, five of his men were caught red-handed driving off a flock of sheep after they had rifled the pockets of the European herdsman in charge. They were sentenced to be flogged, branded, and banished to Robben Island.³ The increasingly hostile attitude of these Hottentots made it dangerous for small parties of Europeans to venture beyond the settlement. A hunting party of three freemen who had been given permission to shoot sea-cows in the Berg River were robbed and, according to their own version, narrowly escaped being murdered.⁴

Under the circumstances, the policy of the authorities remained one of non-interference with the disputes between the clans themselves while awaiting a more favourable opportunity for settling their own account with Gonnema.⁵ But in June 1673 the hand of the government was forced by the receipt of a report that a party of eight freemen and one slave, who were on a hunting expedition, had been surrounded by Gonnema's people. A large force, consisting of thirty-six soldiers from the garrison and thirty-six freemen, was immediately sent out to rescue the party, but hardly had they left when further news arrived that the garrison of the small outpost at Saldanha Bay had been massacred. A reinforcement of eighteen horsemen was immediately dispatched to overtake the main force, with additional instructions

'expressly ordering you, on receipt of this should you not have already done so, on the grounds stated in the instructions carried with you, without any delay hostilely to attack Gonnema and the people under

¹ Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 188.

² *Ibid.*, p. 172. It may have been with Gonnema in mind that the following was written: '... zynde de Hottentots altoos voor zeer Brutale menschen sonder kennis gehouden, maer of se daerin niet gedwaelt hebben, twyffelen (wy) grootelycx, onses oordeels, bennen se zeer arrogant, en van al so natuuyrlyk verstant en onsigter als ons gemene volk, weshalve niet te veel ingewilligt of te hart bejegent mogen werden, (welkers ordinaris versuym d'Comp. allesints doorgaans d'meer te umbrasie, en groote moeylykeden veroorsaeken) gevolgelyk sullen ze te beter aan de hanteeren gaan noodeloose onlusten met haer, en dient d'Comp^e hier niet, als cunnende zy onse ingezetenen zo veel quaet, dan wy hen 'oen' (Cape Archives, *Uitgaande Brieven*, 1668-1671, C 495, Jan. 20, 1668).

³ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 317, *Journal*, Feb. 10, 1672.

⁴ *Ibid.*, footnote (2), p. 322, *Journal*, Nov. 12, 1672.

⁵ *Ibid.*, footnote (2), p. 324, *Instructions to trading expedition*, Feb. 23, 1673.

him, and endeavour entirely to ruin them, sparing none of the males, and doing with their cattle as directed in the former order.¹

The 'war' with the hostile Hottentots was now on, and although the punitive expedition failed to inflict any direct punishment upon the offenders, it returned with a considerable number of cattle and sheep, some of which were distributed among the freemen who had accompanied the expedition. The hostilities were carried a step farther in the following year, when a larger force, consisting of fifty soldiers and fifty freemen, took the field against Gonnema in order to prevent him from approaching the settlement during the winter months and attacking the Europeans who lived at some distance from the Castle.² About 250 Hottentots under Captain Claas and other friendly captains accompanied the expedition. On this occasion, the enemy again managed to effect their escape, but their kraals were burned and a large booty, consisting of 800 cattle and some 4,000 sheep, was captured. Further expeditions were dispatched from time to time, but it was not until 1677 that hostilities were concluded by the submission of Gonnema. The results of these disturbances, in which all the neighbouring clans had been involved, led to a considerable departure from the policy laid down. Complete non-interference was no longer practicable, for it was only by imposing a settlement whenever disputes arose between the various clans and factions that the local authority could secure its own interests or avoid being dragged into these disputes.³ As the result of the settlement with Gonnema and his followers, the Company's position with regard to all the Hottentot clans was very much improved.

The affair with Gonnema had made it impossible to proceed with any scheme of settling farmers beyond the boundaries of the Cape Peninsula. Although the tract of land at Hottentots Holland had been occupied by a Company's cattle post since 1672, there was not a single free burgher living beyond Wynberg before 1678.⁴ In the beginning of that year land was granted to two freemen in Hottentots Holland.⁵ They were followed some months later by the free butcher, Henning Huising, and his partner, to whom permission was given to graze their sheep beyond the Eerste river for three years, 'provided that the applicants should be bound always to satisfy the Hottentots who are in the habit of coming there with

¹ Moodie, *op cit.*, p. 328, Extract, July 14, 1673.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 337-8, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, May 20, 1674.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 347, Journal, Feb. 19, 1677, and *ibid.*, pp. 352-3, Journal, June 25, 1677.

⁴ Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 210. The number of farmers whose names were returned in Dec. 1677, was 38 (Moodie, *op. cit.*, footnote, p. 358).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

their cattle, so as to avoid any discontent between those tribes and us'.¹ A suitable spot for cultivation was also allotted to them. But there was, as yet, no general movement beyond the confines of the peninsula, where agriculture continued to languish and 'those most desirable objects'—sufficient grain for local consumption and for export—seemed to be as far off as ever. In order to bring pressure to bear upon the freemen with a view to realizing, at any rate, the first of these aims, the Council of Policy resolved:

'That the issue of rice to the freemen should continue three months longer, and that every one must begin to maintain himself, and if it comes to our knowledge that any one fails to exert every endeavour to attain this object, all such persons shall be weeded out as sluggards and useless men in the cultivation and extension of this Colony, and without remission sent to Mauritius, or elsewhere, where they will be obliged to learn to support themselves.'²

The economic conditions of the free population, with a narrow and insecure agricultural basis, were evidently very unhealthy, as is apparent from the following description:

'It were to be wished that any other means of relieving the heavy expenditure could be devised without burdening these poor Colonists; for were we to tax them any further, it would be impossible for them to support it, even now they have work enough with *corssen en borgen*, others by *rapen en scrapen*, and others again by lying and cheating, to collect money enough to pay for the rice and other necessities which they must buy monthly from the Company; most of them being burdened with debt to the poor fund, for money which they have taken up at the annual interest of 6 per cent.'³

It was at this juncture that the elder van der Stel arrived as Commander at the Cape. According to Theal,

'the most prominent trait of his character, as it affected South Africa, was perhaps his intense patriotism. In his eyes everything that was Dutch was good, and whatever was not Dutch was not worthy of regard. From the day that he landed on our shores to the day that he resigned the government, he constantly studied how he could best make the district round the Cape resemble as closely as possible a Province of the Netherlands. The Dutch language, Dutch laws, Dutch institutions, Dutch customs, being all perfect in his opinion, he made it his business to plant them here uncorrupted and unchanged.'⁴

Almost immediately after the arrival of the new Commander, steps were taken to press forward with the scheme of colonization. In order to encourage prospective colonists to settle in the interior

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 359, Journal, Mar. 4, 1678.

² *Ibid.*, Resolution, Aug. 5, 1679.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 363, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, May 18, 1678.

⁴ Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 215.

and to apply themselves to agriculture, it was resolved to grant land in future in freehold outside the peninsula, on the condition, however, that failure to make the right use of the land would lead to the withdrawal of the grant. There was a gratifying response to the stimulus applied by the Commander, for 'we can assure you that there was never greater zeal and industry shown in agriculture than now'.¹ In May 1680 a party of eight families took advantage of the offer, and settled at Stellenbosch on land which had been personally selected by the Commander. By 1683 the number had increased to thirty families with numerous children.² In 1687 twenty-three families were settled along the Berg River in Drakenstein. In the following year the French Huguenots who had begun to arrive in the country were provided with farms at Fransch Hoek, Drakenstein, and Wagenmakers Vallei. While the Huguenots were settling down in the country that was to be their permanent home, there was at the same time a steady flow of families from the Netherlands which continued until the beginning of the following century, when further state-aided immigration was prohibited by the Directors in 1707 after the recall of the younger van der Stel. By that time the total burgher population was not far short of 2,000.³ The agricultural community was distributed among the three 'colonies' of Stellenbosch, Fransch Hoek, and Drakenstein. They were already then, as they are to-day, predominantly corn- and wine-producing districts, economically dependent upon the Cape market, but the home of a rural society with an independent life and outlook of its own.

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 374, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, Mar. 27, 1680.

² Petition from the burghers of Stellenbosch, Sept. 28, 1683 (Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy).

³ Valentyn, *op. cit.* Vraagstukken door den Heer Johan van Hoorn—Commissaris, 1710: Hoeveel Burger-Familien? Burgers 656, Vrouwen 339, Zoonen 458, Dochters 470.

V

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL SITUATION

1. *Officials and Non-officials*

THE community that inhabited the Cape and its agricultural districts during the first decade of the eighteenth century had by now begun to take shape and to develop characteristic patterns of social interaction which were the product of its own internal development. Company officials and servants, town burghers and agriculturists, European servants (*knechts*), free blacks (*very swarten*), slaves, Hottentots, and half-breeds (the results of miscegenation either between European men and slave women or between slaves and Hottentot women), made up the various classes and sections of the population. Although future developments might lead to some of the dividing lines becoming more and more clearly defined while others would tend to become blurred or disappear altogether, social conditions and social relations, even at this early stage, foreshadow very clearly the future direction of those developments. It was a formative period during which social tendencies arising out of the interactions between the various sections of the total population were imperceptibly but steadily crystallizing into social habits and attitudes.

Of all these sections, socially the most prominent, though by no means the most significant, was that section which consisted of the higher officials of the Company.¹ The Governor, 'de hoog edele Heer', and members of the Council of Policy, 'de ed. Agtb. Raad', who conducted the government of the Colony and who were directly responsible to 'our Lords and Masters', the Directors of the Company, naturally took first place in the social hierarchy. How real the social distinctions were that separated the official from the non-official class, may be seen from the following passage:

'In order to encourage everybody in assisting in moat digging, the Honourable Governor in person and his Lordship's *lady* and their little son, were so condescending as to come this morning, accompanied by the other high and low ministers and lower officials, nobody excepted, assisted by their *consorts*, the burgher councillors and other substantial citizens and people of distinction with their *wives* and children, entering with special ardour, willingness and zeal into the digging of the moat and carrying up the earth.'²

¹ 'De eerste en aanzienlykste in rang, zyn de Dienaaren der E. Maatschappyy' (Valentyn, op. cit., p. 38).

² Godee-Molsbergen, 'White Population at the Cape before the arrival of the Huguenots', *Journal of the S.A.A.A.S.*, vol. vi, 1906. Extract from the Journal, Oct. 25, 1677.

The ranks and titles of senior merchant, merchant, and junior merchant were all highly honourable and eagerly sought after by members of the official class, since they determined social precedence in an age in which an individual's place at table, in church, or in a funeral procession was an index of his social rank and position.

At the Cape, the power of the higher official set who exercised the ruling authority was only limited by their responsibility to the Council of Seventeen remotely situated in Holland. If we add to this the fact that the trading and governing policy of the Company was monopolistic and oligarchical to a degree, we can form some idea of the large powers enjoyed by the official section and of the relatively wide gulf that separated them from the non-official sections of the population over whom they exercised those powers. As the representatives of the sovereign power who were also charged with the duty of protecting its commercial interests, the officials regarded themselves as occupying an especially privileged position in the community. They were the 'legitimate children' of the Company as contrasted with the rest of the European population who owed their existence to the favour of the Company. The following passage, though it perhaps does less than justice to the official class as a whole, since they were, often enough, in the difficult position of having to serve two masters at the same time, does represent very clearly one aspect of the relations between the officials and the colonists of the time:

'On the other hand, the officials felt no affection for the colonists as such. As a rule, they regarded the settlers as interlopers, who, if not representing an element directly prejudicial to the Company, were at all events in the officials' way, and appropriated whatever small profits would otherwise have fallen to the latter. Almost immediately after the settlement of the first colonists at the Cape, there sprang up amongst them a feeling of suspicion as regards the officials. . . . And gradually there had grown up between the two classes a somewhat strong feeling. The officials styled themselves the Company's 'legitimate children' whilst the colonists were "illegitimate", bastards without legal rights.'

But although the officials represented an impressive element in the Colony, their influence upon its internal social development could only be, in the nature of things, of the very slightest. For one thing, they were not permanent, they had no stake in the country,² and, in their official capacity, they could do very little to influence developments which were, in any case, beyond any sort

¹ *The Diary of Adam Tas*, edited by L. Fouché, Appendix, p. 193.

² After the recall of the younger van der Stel in 1707, officials were forbidden to own land.

of control, official or otherwise. In the spirit of the age, they had no idea of any kind of social policy, nor were they concerned about the social consequences of measures which, for the time being, promised an immediate solution to their problems. For another thing, their outlook was, for the most part, bound by the Cape Peninsula, where they felt most at home. As the seat of government and as a centre of great strategic importance, the safety of the castle, of the bay, and of the immediate environs was their constant preoccupation. The official outlook, therefore, was directed more across the sea from which a potential enemy might come, was far more susceptible to influences from overseas with which its fortunes were bound up. 'The country districts and the 'outside population' were only an additional responsibility which, from the point of view of the Company's interests, did not appear to be entirely justified. Hence the constant conflict between 'safe' government in the interests of the Company and 'good' government in the interests of the colonists, the only effect of which was to weaken the respect for all government and in that way, indirectly, to influence further development. But at this period the prestige of the official class loomed large because it was still so near and could make its power felt so readily. In the hands of an unscrupulous governor that power might easily become downright tyranny, as actually happened at the Cape towards the end of our period. And in this connexion the fact that the greatest resistance was offered by the outside districts is of very considerable significance.

2. *Town and Country*

Between the town and the country there had developed a divergence of outlook and of interests that reflected far more than the mere difference between the official and the non-official classes. 'The sandy waste of the Cape Flats that was such a formidable physical barrier between town and country served to divide the two in other ways as well. Long before the days of the Colony, the distinction between the freemen who earned their living in the vicinity of the Fort and those who were farmers was already clearly recognized.¹ The development of colonization and the growth of a large agricultural population only served to accentuate those differences in mode of life, in range of occupation, in variety of social contact which distinguish urban from rural society the world over, but which were, owing to peculiar local conditions, even more strongly marked than usual at the Cape. The atmosphere of the town, the principal activities of which were based upon its

¹ See above, p. 55.

importance as a port of call, was lax, and, in many respects, not unlike that of an eastern possession of the day. 'The influence of the East was, in many ways, far stronger than the influence of Holland or of Europe, upon the mentality of those who inhabited the town. 'The resident population, both free and slave, together with the floating population of those who enjoyed the hospitality of the "Tavern of the Seas", presented an infinite variety of race, of colour, and of language.

The impression made upon a contemporary observer by this variety is graphically described in the following passage:

'De ingezetenen van dit land zyn of Dienaaren der E. Maatschappy, of Borgers, anders vryheden genaamt, of Hottentots. Van elk der selven zullen wy in 't byzonder spreken; nadat wy hier met een letter bygevoegt hebben dat men allerly Naticen, en dus Nederlanders, Engelschen, Franschen, Hoogduytschers van allerly gewesten, Savoyards, Italiaanen, Hungaaren, Maleyers, Malabaaren, Cingaleezen, Javaanen, Macassaaren, Bengaalen, Amboinceezen, Bambanceezen, Boegeneezen, Chineezen, Madagascaraan, Angoleezen, inwoonders van Guinea, en van de Zoute eilanden vint, by welke men met de Nederduytze, Maleitze en Portugeesche taal kan te regt raaken.'

In such an environment, race contacts were more free and less conventional than in a more rigid and more stable society. Within the urban zone, in which there was always a large preponderance of men, miscegenation took place on an extensive scale. Commissioner Goske, as we have seen, was shocked to discover, when he visited the Cape in 1671, that three out of every four children born of slave mothers were of European paternity. In 1678 the Council issued a proclamation forbidding the *practice* of concubinage with female slaves, and added

'that it tends besides to the evident prejudice of the Company, as we are obliged, after the lapse of a few years, to discharge the mestice children,

¹ Valentyn, op. cit., p. 38. [Tr. 'The inhabitants of this country are either Servants of the Hon. Company or Burghers, also called freemen, or Hottentots. We shall consider each of these in particular, after having added in brief that diverse nations are to be found, including Netherlands, English, French, High Germans from various parts, Savoyards, Italians, Hungarians, Malays, men of Malabar, Cingalese, Javaneze, men of Macasser, of Bengal, of Amboyna, of Bambana, of Bougena, of China, of Madagascar, of Angola, inhabitants of Guinea, and of the Salt Islands, among whom one can find one's way by means of the Dutch, Malay or Portuguese languages.'] Except for the increased results of miscegenation, the population at the Cape a hundred years later appears to have been as polychromatic and as polyglot as ever: 'Deze gelingen zyn in een Kolonie als de Kaap; meestal van onderscheide naticen, talen, kleuren, gedaanten en geslacht, Engelschen, Hollanders, Afrikanen, Duitschers, Franschen, Denen, Negeren, Masambiekers, Portugezen, Hottentotten, Javanen, Maleyers en een mengelmoes van gekleurde wezens, die meestal noch van God, noch van zyn Gebod, noch van den Heiligen Eed het allerminst besef hebben.' Swaving, quoted by L. Frankel, 'Medelingen en Opinies oor Afrikaans in de 19de Eeu', *Die Huisgenoot*, 1 Julie 1927.

which are the results of such commerce, from servitude, while those procreated by their countrymen always remain slaves.¹

The High Commissioner van Rheede, who made a close inspection of the state of affairs at the Cape in 1685, notes in his journal: 'ondervond de concubinage onder deselve [i.e. female slaves in the Company's lodge] met onse natie soo openbaar en bekent was, men daarvan als getolereerde dingen sprak'.²

An incident that occurred at the height of the van der Stel tyranny reveals another slice of the composite population of the town in those days. The Governor, who was desperately anxious to secure signatories for a testimonial in his favour,

'summoned, we are told, the citizens of Cape Town to the Castle, where, to their intense amazement, they met with the most courteous of receptions. He regaled them all, blacks and liberated slaves and convicts included, with wine, beer, coffee, and tobacco.'³

The rule of this same governor, and of his immediate successor, may have contributed to the generally demoralized tone of the place which was commented upon at the time by several distinguished visitors. Thus, the retired Governor-General van Hoorn, who arrived at the Cape in 1710, writes:

'en hier is 't soo hollehollich en alles soo onvolmaakt dat ick het spreekwoort van zyn oud-edelheyt van Outhoorn somtyds moet herdenken, dat waarlyck God almachtig de Comp. nog lief heeft en voorborst. . . Uw Hoog Ed' soudt niet gelooven hoe haveloos hier alles gestelt is.'⁴

Affairs at the Cape were still in confusion as the result of the recent upheaval.

'En het schynt dat de Confuzie die de Heer W. A. van der Stel door quade passien en eygen baat heeft gedaan nu weer tot gelyke quaat omtrent eenige opiniatre burgers ten deele zyn ovegegaan, soo dat er daaromtrent niet voor Comp' belangen g'lyvert wert. . . Maar d' H'r Gouverneur van Assenburgh heeft een aardig spreekwoord: 't is of de Caab van vreten en suypen aan malkander hangt.'⁵

¹ Moodie, *op cit*, p. 367, Resolution, Nov. 30, 1678.

² Journal, p. 321, Cape Archives, 38 [Tr.: 'discovered that the concubinage of these with our nation was so public and well known that it was regarded as a tolerated affair'] See also L. Franken, 'Die Taal van die Slawekinders en Fornikasie met Slavinnen', *Tydskrif*, vol. vi Beeckman, in his description of Capetown, states that the slave women 'are very proud when their children prove whiter than themselves'. *I.R.S. Publications*, vol. v, p. 114.

³ L. Fouché, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, Appendix, p. 211.

⁴ Letter to G.-General Abraham van Riebeeck, 15 Feb. 1710. [Tr.: 'and here is such a mess and everything so unfinished that I am at times reminded of the saying of his late Excellency Van Outhoorn that truly God Almighty neither cares for nor preserves the Company. . . Your Highness can have no conception of the miserable state in which everything is at this place.']

⁵ *Ibid.* Quoted by Godec-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, Bylage XXI. [Tr.: 'And it appears that the Turmoil caused by Mr. W. A. van der Stel as the result of his

3. *Free Blacks and Slaves*

In the country districts the farming population, as contrasted with the town population, was far more homogeneous in race, in occupation, and in general outlook.¹ In the areas settled by Europeans the farms were situated close to one another with three community centres at Stellenbosch, where there was a church and which was also the seat of the landdrost, at Drakenstein, where there was another church, and at Fransche Hoek. The more fortunate members of the farming community appear to have led an easy-going, sociable kind of existence, and, if we are to judge by the example of Adam Tas and his associates, made full use of their opportunities for convivial diversions.² But, although the main lines of future social development were already taking shape, the social framework which was being developed was not yet sufficiently rigid to control its various elements in any hard-and-fast way. The psycho-social situation was still in a state of flux and, at this early stage, we find certain of its parts occupying a very different position in the community from that which would be theirs at a later and more advanced stage.

Of these elements, the black free burghers, some of whom were

evil passions and cupidity has to some extent transmitted itself with the same evil result to certain self-willed burghers, so that the Company's interests in that quarter are not being pursued with zeal. . . . But the Governor van Assenburg has an amusing saying the Cape, as it were, hangs together by gorging and guzzling.' The same appendix also contains extracts from letters written by Joh. Maria van Riebeeck, the wife of van Hoorn and granddaughter of the first Commander of the Cape, to her father, Abraham van Riebeeck, who had succeeded her husband as Governor-General. She had been brought up in Batavia and this was her first visit to the Cape. Her observations are of considerable interest for the light they throw upon the social life, especially of the official class, and upon conditions in general at the Cape. She writes: 'Soo benne de hollanders in haar huysshouwen ook seer morsigh en men siet hier aardige troonies van menschen en hier is een aardige manier van leven . . . en de gouverneur is Een man van heel veel swiers en hout scheynt veel van dames altemets tot syn geselschap heeft, soo dat hier Een hele hoofse swier is maar Evenwel alles opsen Hottentots . . . Ik moet bekennen dat ik van aansienhalve geen slechter plaas hebbe gezien.' Jan 13, 1710.

¹ According to Theal, there were in 1691 about a thousand permanent colonists of all ages and both sexes. 'As nearly as it is possible to analyse it, the blood consisted of rather over two-thirds Dutch, about one-sixth French, a very small fraction Swedish, Danish, and Belgian, and one seventh German. The female immigrants—except the Huguenots—were practically all from the Netherlands' (op. cit., vol. II, p. 370). At the beginning of the eighteenth century, say, 1707, the proportion of Dutch and German blood must have been even greater. See also *Dokumenten over Zuid-Afrika*, vol. III, pp. 2, 6. By this time, too, partly as a result of the van der Stel crisis, we may assume that the friction and ill-feeling between the original French Huguenots and their Dutch neighbours at the Cape, which had assumed considerable proportions, were becoming less intense and that they would practically have vanished in the next generation.

² See *Diary of Adam Tas*; also L. Franken, *Die Huisgenoot*, Aug. 9, 1929.

also landowners and agriculturists, are among the most interesting.¹ They appear to have been originally slaves of the Company brought from the East and engaged in work that required skill and intelligence. They were a superior class of slave who were emancipated as a reward for long and faithful service to the Company. These emancipated slaves were classed with the freemen or burghers who, in the early days of the settlement, comprised nearly all those who were neither Company servants nor slaves nor Hottentots. From 1666 onwards, their names begin to appear more and more frequently in the burgher rolls; and no official distinction whatever appears to have been made between them and freemen of European origin. Later, we find a class of free black or *vryswart* who were presumably not 'freemen' and who would, therefore, not be classed with the burghers. Where their names appear in documents, the designation 'free black' instead of 'free burgher' or 'black free burgher' is added to the name. It seems possible to conjecture, since we have no further available evidence on this point, that, from the official point of view, the status of free black *simpliciter* was lower than that of free burgher, white or black. In most cases these free blacks were originally also slaves who had either bought their freedom or who had been liberated by their owners. There was yet another class of free black person who, however, could only have been very few in number, namely, slaves accompanying their owners from the East and liberated either at the Cape or sent back from Holland.²

But to return to the class of black free burgher, we find that, before the days of the colony, the negative evidence seems to show that they lived near the Fort, as did the majority of the freemen, earning their living, no doubt, by means of the same occupations. The first indication that they might be granted land is conveyed in a dispatch from the Directors suggesting that the Company's land at Hottentots Holland might be made over to freemen or to the Company's emancipated slaves on certain conditions.³ This suggestion was entirely in harmony with what we know of the Company's policy, which, in the spirit of the time, took no account of difference in skin-colour at the Cape or elsewhere. The difficulties met with at this time in obtaining colonists for the colonization scheme may also have had something to do with the suggestion. At any rate, not long after the arrival of van der Stel, land was granted

¹ See *Monsterrollen, Vrye Lieden*, Cape Archives, 39.

² Theal, *op. cit.*, p. 465. It is possible that the Company regarded its own ex-slaves more favourably than the ex-slaves of private owners and that the same stigma was not attached to them.

³ Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 359, Dispatch from Directors, Oct. 18, 1677.

to black freemen in the new colony of Stellenbosch. The number of such landowners in the country districts was never very great, since the majority continued to reside in the Cape district, that is, in Capetown.¹ The best known of these landowners in Stellenbosch was Antony van Angola and his wife, Lysbet van Angola. He had been a landowner since 1682 and was evidently a man of some substance, for in the return or *opgaaf lyst* of 1692 he is credited with '1 female slave, 4,000 vines, 4 muids wheat sown, 40 muids reaped, 2 muids rye sown, 20 reaped, 4 muskets, 154 sheep, 1 horse, 2 calves, 14 oxen, 1 pig, 3 cows'.

If we turn to some of the civil cases round about this time, we find some more evidence bearing upon this class of freemen. Thus, on March 22, 1679, 'Jackje van Angola, free Kaffer, [that is, executioner's assistant], recovers a debt of Rds. 93 from Antoni of Bengal, free burgher'; on June 17, 1680, 'the *black* free burgher, Antoni of Bengal: fined Rds. 25, at suit of the Fiscal, for killing a Steinbok'; on September 2, 1680,

'the *black* free burger, Eerst of Guinea, prosecutes the free burger Steven Jansen because his slave girl had beat the plaintiff's wife: plea, the plaintiff's wife had been so abusive that the slave girl could not bear it. sentence, the slave girl to be flogged by Kaffers before the door of defendant's house. On the 9th, Jansen prosecutes Eerst for a debt of Rds. 7: debt admitted, but cannot pay before the arrival of the fleet; sentence - Fiat uytstel tot de vloot.'²

The case of the free black, Pieter Harmensz, 'in de wandeling Brasman genaamt', presents several points of interest. He was defendant in a suit brought against him by one Jacob Bourbonnais, a French Huguenot, in January 1708. The circumstances that gave rise to the case are described in the following terms by a recent writer.

'Onderwyl hul [that is, the party of which Bourbonnais was a member] daar die middag sit gesels en drink, kom Pieter Harmensz, in de wandeling Brasman genaamt, aangery met 'n vag koring. Hy hou by die huis stil en se hy kom sy sweep soek. Dit lyk of hul hom 'n bietjie getenteer en genoeveer het, en dat Jacob Bourbonnais daarby haantjie die voorste was. Eers beskuldig Brasman almal in die algemeen: "Jy luy hebt myn sweep ge'toolen," vestig egter al gou sy vermoede op Jacob Bourbonnais en skel hom uit: "Jey bent een schelm, een dief, jy hebt myn sweep beschaart", takel hom, gooi hom op die grond, steek hom met sy mes "onder de linker schouder agter in de rug" en gee ten slotte uiting aan sy voldaanheid met die woorde: "Jou donders kind,

¹ Monstecollen for 1688, 1690, 1691. Cape Archives, 39.

² Moodie, op cit., pp. 384-5, Notes on cases, Civil and Criminal, from the minutes of the Court of Justice, 1672-82.

daar heb je genoeg, daar is bloed." *Die uitlating bewys dat die houding van gekleurd teenoor blank toe enigszins vrypostiger was as in ons dae.*¹

To which comment the further addition might have been made: 'en dat die verhoudings tussen blank en gekleurd op maatskaplike gebied meer vry was as nou terwyl die houding van blank teenoor gekleurd minder streng was as in ons dae'. At the time of the suit, Brasman had been a free black for ten or eleven years and, having been freed by his mistress, 'Christina does,' 'het toe grond gekoop van fisikaal Blesius en "landbouwer" aan Drakenstein geword'.²

The distinction between black free burgher and free black, if it ever existed, could have had little or no social significance, for even in official documents the two designations were sometimes applied to the same person.³ In any case, the presence of a large number of black slaves within a community in which white slave-owners predominated was fatal to the prospects of a free black or coloured population, since they would only tend to fall, and could never hope to rise, in the social scale. What is significant, however, from our point of view is that at this period the social distance between the class of person under consideration and the Europeans was not nearly so great as it afterwards became. Social contacts between white and black were evidently more free and easy and the social attitude of the former more tolerant of the latter. The black man of this class had not yet 'lost caste' in the eyes of the white man, and persons of colour were not then excluded by an impassable psychological barrier from enjoying some sort of status as *swart vry burghers* or *vry swarten* within the framework of the European community.⁴

¹ J. L. M. Franken, 'Nog 'n paar Franse Huguenote-Briefies', *Die Huisgenoot*, Aug. 9, 1929. Original not italicized. [Tr.: 'While on that midday they were sitting, engaged in talking and drinking, Pieter Harmensz, commonly known as Brasman, came along driving a load of corn. He drew up at the house and said that he had come to look for his stock whip. It appears that they teased and plagued him somewhat, and that Jacob Bourbonnais was the leading spirit. Brasman began by accusing everybody in general: "You people have stolen my whip", but soon fixed his suspicion on Jacob Bourbonnais, abusing him: "You are a rogue, a thief, you have damaged my whip", tackled him and threw him to ground, stabbing him with his knife behind in the back below the left shoulder, and finally giving expression to his satisfaction in the words: "You hell hound, you have enough now, there is blood." This expression shows that the attitude of the coloured towards the white was somewhat more familiar at that time than in our own day.']

² Ibid. [Tr.: 'and that the social relations between white and coloured were more free then than at the present time while the attitude of white towards coloured was less intolerant than in our day.'] [Tr.: 'bought land from the fiscal Blesius and became an "agriculturist" at Drakenstein.'] Compare the not dissimilar case of the free black, Leenden van Saxen, reported in Archives, Stellenbosch, 14, Heemraad 1746-9, June 27, 1746.

³ Moodie, op. cit., p. 364.

⁴ The *vry swart* at the Cape may be compared with the *Mardyker* in the East. According to P. J. Veth, '(is) Mardyker de vernederlandschte vorm van het

The end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century saw a large increase in the number of slaves in the possession of the freemen. 'This increase, we may assume, was directly associated with the development of the colony and the growth of its agricultural industry. The merits of slave labour, as compared with free labour, had already occupied the attention of the authorities for many years. The comparative failure of the first experiment in supplying slave labour to the freeman had left, as the only alternative, the free labour of paid European servants. But these proved too expensive, and there were constant complaints on the part of the farmers that they could not afford to pay the high wages of their servants when the prices they obtained from the Company for their products were so low.¹ The Directors were impressed by the arguments against the use of free labour on the score of expense, for they state:

'We can easily conceive that slaves are very necessary to private farmers, from the great expense of free servants and the great number of them required, and that without slaves they can scarcely maintain themselves.'²

There seemed, however, to be considerable difficulty in the way of obtaining slaves, and in the meantime agriculture declined, while the freemen turned to occupations that were less arduous and more profitable. 'This state of affairs caused the Directors, as well as the local authorities, much concern, as is clear from the following extract:

'That the retailers of drink have been reduced to the number of seven, we view as a matter of necessity; the inhabitants must henceforth direct their endeavour to procure subsistence by labor and industry, and not from inn-keeping; and no means are wanting there, to such as choose to pull their hands out of their sleeves; and as we can well conceive that this is not to be attained by the inhabitants without slaves, the wages of Dutch servants falling too expensive, we shall continue to exert ourselves in order to furnish them with a good number of slaves, with a view chiefly to the advancement of the agriculture, which has shamefully declined, and which would come to nothing unless some provision were made to prevent it.'³

In 1672 the number of slaves in the possession of the freemen

Malische Mardaheka of Mardaka, vry, een vryman. De vrye, niet in dienst der Compagnie staande Europeanen, m.a.w. de blanken die als kolonisten naar Indië waren gekomen, werden Vryburgers genoemd; zulke Vryburgers waren nu ook de Mardykens, maar als men hen met den naam van Vryburgers noemde, voegde men er doorgaans tot onderscheiding *zwarte* by, daar men gewoon was alle inlanders *zwarten* te noemen. ' *Uit Oost en West*.

¹ Moodie, op. cit., p. 270. Dispatch, Nov. 21, 1663. See above, p. 55.

² Ibid., p. 286, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, Nov. 7, 1665.

³ Ibid., p. 310, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, May 15, 1671.

was still comparatively small, but in the following year a captured English prize with 240 slaves on board arrived at the Cape, 'thus bringing into our hands here, beyond all expectations, those useful people'.¹ 'There was a further large addition of slaves in 1677, and permission was given to supply every farmer 'with 3 or 4 stout slaves either in loan, or to be paid for in corn, or cattle'.² It was not, however, until after 1691 that the great influx of slaves began which, within a relatively short period of time, once and for all, converted the agricultural community into a slave-owning society, firmly established upon a broad basis of servile labour.³

The slaves were imported from Madagascar, Bengal, the Malabar and Coromandel coasts, Ceylon, and the East Indian islands.⁴ The disproportion of the sexes among the slave population was very much greater than among the free population, with the result that there was a good deal of miscegenation with Hottentot women. Many of the slaves did not understand Dutch, so that there was in common use a lingua franca, known as Maleis-Portugees, which was freely used by the European population.⁵ The presence of such a large servile population created many social problems. The most obvious of these was the problem of crimes and outrages committed by slaves against persons and property. In this respect the imported slaves were the worst offenders, and, since the slave population continued to grow for many years by importation rather than by natural increase, this danger did not diminish as time went on.⁶ Crimes committed by slaves were punished by the ordinary criminal code of the day, for it was not until 1754 that a special slave code was enacted. Regulations concerning the treatment of slaves were framed from time to time and reflect the hardening

¹ Ibid., p. 324, Journal, Mar. 5, 1673.

² Ibid., p. 347, Dispatch from Chamber XVII, Aug. 18, 1677.

³ The following table gives the growth of population, free and slave (Company slaves excluded):

	Free adults (both sexes)	Slave adults (both sexes)
1672	103 (plus 53 <i>knechts</i>)	63 (children included)
1691	523 (plus 63 ")	342
1708	798	1,147
1710	995	1,554 (M. 1,294; F. 260).

Note: This table, like the one on p. 59 above, has been compiled from data found in Theal, Moodie, Valentyn, et alii.

⁴ Valentyn, op. cit., p. 38. The names of the following slaves appear in a criminal charge, Apr. 2, 1712: Pieter van Bengalen, damon van Madagascar, Adam van Suratte, Jan de Smit van de Cust, Rantong van Baly. J. L. M. Franken, Vertolkung ens., *Die Huisgenoot*, Mei 23, 1930.

⁵ See D. C. Hesseling, *Het Afrikaans*.

⁶ On the danger from slaves, compare Sparrman: 'Being but two christians among twelve or fourteen men slaves, we bolted the door fast, and had five loaded pieces hanging over our head.' *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope from 1772-1776*, vol. i, p. 73.

tendency of the attitude towards them. As early as 1671, instructions were issued by Commissioner Goske

'to prevent the communication between Europeans and female slaves,— male and female slaves were to be united as man and wife, but not formally married, until baptized and instructed in their mutual obligations; breaches of both engagements were to be punished, with this difference, that those of married females should be punished according to law: but the heathens at discretion, according to the nature of the offence; Company's slaves were to be forced to prayers; children, the progeny of Europeans and slaves of whom 12 were then at school, were to be taught, and particular care to be taken that they were not alienated, so as to remain in constant slavery, but that they might in due time enjoy the freedom to which, *in the right of the father*, they were born.'¹

These regulations were devised more particularly for the sake of the slaves of the Company, though they were presumably meant to apply to all slaves at the Cape, including the slaves in private ownership. Even so, they were more honoured in the breach than in the observance, for in 1685, when the High Commissioner van Rheeде paid a visit to the Cape, he found that they had become, to all intents and purposes, a dead letter. One of the measures he took to remedy this state of affairs was to issue an even more elaborate series of instructions to regulate the treatment of slaves. 'The spirit that informed these regulations finds expression in the preamble:

'They [that is, the slaves] are heathens, ignorant of the true God; and we in whose power are their bodies— we may almost say, their lives—are christians. It would be a shame to us, whose part it is to take good care of our irrational domestic cattle, if we permitted men to run wild, and left them in a worse condition than when in their fatherland. Our masters are the foster fathers of Christ's church, and if we fail to employ the means in our hands, and do not exert every endeavour to bring these men to the knowledge of the redeeming faith—we shut the door of that Church. How do we know what God, in his mercy, has determined as to these people, and what will foreign nations say to our shame, if we allow them to live together, like brutes, in utter licentiousness, and do not provide herein as for our own countrymen?'²

A matter of particular concern to the High Commissioner was the fate of the half-breed children of slave mothers by European fathers, who, at this date (1685), numbered 58. It was laid down that male half-breeds could claim freedom as a right at the age of 25, and female half-breeds at the age of 22. 'They were to be trained in useful occupations, including agriculture

'om met den tyd het geheele land, en ackerwerck aan deselve over te geven, waartoe zy bequaemer als iemandt anders zullen worden, want

¹ Moodie, op cit., footnote, p. 309. Original not italicized.

² Ibid., p. 397, Instructions, July 16, 1685

in deze landen gebooren, by dien dienst opgetoogen, hebbende verstand en lighamelyke sterkte genoegh en soude d'Ed^e Comp^{ie} geen beter onderdanen mogen hebben. . . .'¹

Van Rheede evidently envisaged a large population of this class in the future, who since they would owe everything to the Company would prove to be its most faithful subjects.² Imported slaves might be emancipated as a matter of favour, after thirty years' service at the Cape, and colonial slaves at the age of 40, provided that they spoke Dutch and had been baptized. Marriage between Europeans and freed female slaves of full colour was prohibited, but Europeans were allowed to marry half-breed slaves upon emancipation.³

The Instructions of this High Commissioner, whose *Journal* reveals him as a man of enlightened feeling, deeply concerned about the welfare of all the inhabitants of the Cape, whether Europeans, half-breeds, slaves, or Hottentots, represented a point of view that was out of touch with the realities of the situation which actually determined interracial relations both at this time and at a later date. One such reality which had already been a cause of difficulty on a previous occasion,⁴ and which appeared again with renewed vigour and in a somewhat different guise, is described by van Rheede himself:

'En gemerkt men alhier by den kerkenraad swarigheyt maakende over den doop aen kinderen van heydenen en ongelovige te bedienen, der wegen aen de hooge regeringh op dat subject geschreven, hadden haer Ed^e Agt^e tot dien eynde overgesonden het advys van den Eerw. kerkenraede tot Batavia, alwaer de broederen van gevoelen waren geweest, men de kinderen van ongelovige slaven wel soude vermogen te doopen, soo men deselve (ten aensien der eygenaers) beloofden in vryheyt te stellen, ende in de Christelyken religie te doen optrecken en onderwysen, wacruyt was dan voortgekomen, men alhier geen slaven kinderen hadt laten dopen, als vindende sigh niemand gequalificeert soodanigen beloften te doen, noch iders gelegentheyt te wesen sodanige conditien nae te komen, . . . want veele luyden om haere slaven niet te verliesen, soudén haer best doen deselve heydens of mahometans te laeten blyven, want het schynt te volgen dat soo men aen geen ongelovige het sacrament van den heyligen doop sal mogen bedienen, slaven kinderen synde als

¹ *Journal* van H. A. van Rheede, pp. 357-8, Cape Archives, 38. [Tr.: 'so that in time the whole country may be handed over to the same, together with its cultivation, for which they are better fitted than any one else, since, born in these parts, grown up in its service, having understanding and physical strength, the Hon. Co. would have no better subjects.']

² *Belang. Hist. Dok.* vols. i-ii, p. 26. Compare: 'Men moet de Caeb de Goede Hoop considereeren als een frontier, en het Casteel als een plaats dewelke dussgelyx in het gevaar van een vyand staende, van niemend dan van syn eyge hulpe en sterkte afhangt.' *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴ See above, pp. 45-6.

met vrygevingh oock deselve tot haer jaeren gekomen de belydenis des geloofs, en by gevolg den doop niet en zullen mogen ontfangen als met vrygevingh soodat niet alleen dese menschen zouden ongeluckigh wesen tot slaverny gekomen, maer oock dat haer dien staet, de deur der genade om tot saligheyt te comen toe sluytende, noch ongeluckiger soude maeken, en sulx geheel buyten haer toe doen.

'Dit was dan de reden, of pretext van reden, waeromme men alhier de kinderen ongedoopt hadt gelaeten, alhoewel dat gevoelen geen plaets konne hebben omtrent kinderen van Christen Vaders, schoon van een ongelovige moeder.'

The large increase in the number of European colonists (and, therefore, of slave-owners) during the years immediately following van Rheede's visit not only brought about a complete change in the direction of the Colony's development, such as had been anticipated and apparently welcomed by him, but the still larger increase in the number of slaves during the same period reduced any prospects the latter may have had in the way of a more liberal treatment. What may be described as the 'human status' and the 'natural rights' of the slave steadily declined as vested interests, such as those represented by property in slaves, increased. The hardening of the local European attitude towards the slave class, which found partial expression many years later in the Slave Code of 1754, was also in some measure due to the behaviour of the

¹ Journaal, pp. 365-7. [Tr.: 'It being noticed here that the church council raised objection to the baptism of children of heathen and unbelieving parents, for which reason a communication on the subject was sent to the chief seat of government, their Honours had forwarded the recommendation of the Reverend Church Council of Batavia, where the general feeling existed that the children of unbelieving slaves might well be baptized, provided that (with regard to the owners) there was an undertaking to liberate them, and to bring them up and instruct them in the Christian religion, from which it then appeared that no one here had allowed any slave children to be baptized since none was prepared to give any such undertaking, nor was there any chance of such a condition being observed, . . . as many individuals, in order not to lose their slaves, would do their best to cause them to remain heathens or Mohammedans, since it appears to follow that if the sacrament of the Holy Baptism may not be administered to any unbelieving person, slave children, having become of age, as when emancipated, would not be able to make a confession of faith and, as a result, would not be baptized, as they would if they were free, so that not only would these people be unfortunate in falling into a state of slavery but also that this state would make them still more unfortunate by closing the merciful door to salvation, and that without any cause whatsoever on their part.

'Thus, then, was the reason, or pretext of reason, why the children had remained unbaptized, although there could be no room for that feeling with regard to the children of Christian fathers, despite of an unbelieving mother.']

Both van Rheede and his predecessor Goske seem to have taken it for granted that non-official public opinion would never sanction the enslavement of any child of a European, i.e. Christian father, even though the mother was a slave. See above, p. 76, and compare van Rheede's dictum: 'such children have no share in the faults of the parents, but, *being indisputably children of our nation*, cannot be made slaves'. Moodie, op. cit., footnote 2, p. 397. Original not italicized.

slaves themselves. In the preamble to that code we find it stated that 'the misconduct and brutality of the slaves was such that for the provision of peace and good order, it was necessary to collect into one Ordinance all the laws relating to slaves'.¹ But another aspect of slave behaviour which may have had a greater influence at an earlier date upon the European attitude appears to have been the failure of the emancipated slave, in many cases, to make good use of his freedom. Thus in 1708 we find Commissioner Simons issuing instructions to the effect that no slave was to be emancipated unless the owner first provided security that such an ex-slave would not become a charge upon the poor funds within ten years.² This regulation, which originated in Batavia, was directed, in the first place, against the practice of owners who wished to be relieved of the responsibility for old or infirm slaves, but it certainly made the free and easy emancipation of an earlier day more difficult. It was becoming, in fact, increasingly difficult for an individual to escape from the slave-status, which was now coming to be regarded as the permanent condition of the slave. Theal, writing of this time, states 'that the view began to be held and asserted that slavery was the proper condition of the black race',³ although it was not until the end of the century that the question whether baptized slaves, in private ownership, could lawfully be retained in slavery was explicitly raised and answered in the affirmative. Slavery was no longer merely a form of cheap labour but an institution, and the slave was no longer the unpaid servant of his master but a valuable piece of property belonging to an owner.

We find, however, that the Instructions of van Rheeде were by no means completely neglected so far as the Company's slaves were concerned, and that they were even applied, on occasions, to the slaves of private owners. Thus, for example,

'Dirk, a half breed, hitherto a slave in the service of a free burgher, having run away to the wilderness and having been brought back by Captain Kees, it is resolved, after he has been punished for running away, to place him in freedom and to let him enjoy the rights due to him by his birth and the statutes of this country, the more so as his master has no objection to his emancipation.'⁴

¹ Theal, *Chronicles*, p. 352. Compare the contemporary account of P. Kolbe on this aspect of slave behaviour which, together with other accounts, is reproduced by Blommaert and Gie, *op. cit.*, under the title 'Misdade van die Slawe'. The ferocity of this slave code must be qualified by the fact that, like any similar code, its bark was worse than its bite for the majority of the slaves.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 465; also, *V.R.S.*, vol. v, pp. 46-7.

³ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 465.

⁴ Abstract of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy, Dec. 30, 1686. Notice the permissive interpretation given to the Instructions, due probably to the fact that the owner or 'master' was a burgher and not the Company.

And again,

'Andries Barentse, alhier in de Slavenlogie van een 's Comp^s Slavin geboren, -- aan ons instantelyk versoekende om uyt Slaverny in vrydom gestelt, en metselaar in dienst van U.E. te mogen aangenomen worden:— zoo hebben wy ten aansien derselve de E. Comp. bereeds den tyt van 20 jaeren, goede diensten als metselaar heeft gedaan, en volgens de naargelaten instructie van wylen den Commissaris Generaal de Heer Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede vermits denselve al voor lange den tyt ofte ouderdom van 40 jaeren, in dienstbaarheid der E. Comp. heeft berykt, hem in vrydom gelargert en als metselaar onder die drie jarig verband, met een besolding van 10 [guilders] per maand in dienst aangenomen.'¹

Throughout the eighteenth century there was, indeed, a steady trickle of emancipated slaves into the free community,² where they helped to swell the numbers of free persons who occupied, in a descending series, various positions between the burgher population at the one end and the slave population at the other. But compared with the great mass of those who were, and remained, in accordance with public opinion, slaves, *ad vitam*, they were a negligible quantity.

4. *Hottentots*

Throughout this period the position of the original inhabitants of the country had undergone a steady deterioration. With the submission of Gonnema, the last vestiges of any kind of organized resistance which might prove a serious threat to European encroachment disappeared. While the more intransigent members of the Gorachquoas and the Goringhaiquas appear to have withdrawn at about this time into the interior in order to avoid any further contact with the European,³ those of the Hottentot clans, and especially their captains, who remained in touch with the colony, were only too eager to secure the goodwill of the Europeans, upon whom they were becoming more and more dependent for all kinds of favours. If we compare the small amount of space devoted to

¹ Moodie, *Afschriften*, Dispatch to Chamber XVII, Apr. 15, 1711. [Tr.: 'Andries Barentse, born here of a Co.'s female slave in the Slave lodge, . . . urgently requests to be placed in freedom and to be taken on as mason in the employment of the Co. in view of the fact that he has already for the period of 20 years rendered good service as a mason to the Co., and in accordance with the instructions left behind by the late Commissioner-General Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede, since he has for some considerable while reached the period or age of 40 years in the service of the Co., we have for that reason placed him in freedom and have engaged him as mason on a three year contract at a wage of 10 [guilders] per month']

² See Leibbrandt, *Requesten and Memorials*, A-E, F-O, P-R, 1715-1806; and note the comparatively large proportion of emancipated slaves whose former owners were free blacks.

³ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 246.

the Hottentots in van der Stel's memorandum to his successor (1699), and the way in which they are referred to, with the lengthy discussion in van Riebeeck's memorandum upon the same subject (1662), we are impressed by the change that has taken place in the relations between the two races and in the official attitude towards those relations. It is quite evident that the presence of the Hottentots had ceased to be a problem of any importance to the local authorities, for in the memorandum they are dismissed in a few lines. The early conciliatory policy, with its emphasis upon placating the natives at all costs, is replaced by a more masterful policy of supervision and control by which they are relegated to a very minor and subordinate position in relation to the European community.¹

Those Hottentots who still retained some semblance of their original tribal organization continued to be regarded, from the official point of view, as a free and independent people under the authority of their own captains. Technically, they fell outside the Company's jurisdiction, so that, even where they were found distributed in small groups or kraals among the inhabitants of the colony, they were not regarded in any sense as a part of the community. So far as possible, individual Hottentots sentenced for serious crimes against Europeans were handed over to their own people for execution. During van Rheede's stay at the Cape, four Hottentots who had been sentenced to death for the murder of a European by the Council of Justice were beaten to death by their own people. In his Journal van Rheede has an entry to the effect that, after he had had a friendly discussion with the Hottentot captains who had been summoned to the Castle to attend the trial, 'my dagt veel beter te wesen, zy dese moordenaars selver straffen, om daar door soveel te meer afschrik onder dat volck te brengen, en aen ons minder afkeer, als soo wy zulkx selven hadden gedaen'.² His own views upon this practice merely confirmed an official attitude that had been in existence for some time 'want dewyle d'E. Comp^{ie} dese naturelle inlanders aensiet niet als onderdanen, maer als vrienden en bondgenoten, met deselve synde gealliert en door contract in vruntschap verbonden'.³ The policy which he

¹ *J.R.S. Publications*, vol. v, p. 20.

² *Journal*, p. 43. [Tr.: 'it seemed to me much better that they themselves should punish these murderers, so that by that means more fear might be aroused in that people, and less aversion to us, than if we ourselves had done the same.'] Compare the fate of the four Gunjemans, that is, followers of Gonnema, who were executed by 'allied' Hottentots in 1673. An eyewitness, de Neven, has left behind an account of the execution. There was another case in 1689, when a Hottentot who had fatally wounded the French Huguenot, Marais, was put to death by his countrymen. For details, see *Die Huisgenoot*, July 26, 1929.

³ *Journal*, p. 45. [Tr.: 'since the Hon. Co. looks upon these native inhabitants

laid down was followed by the local authorities throughout this period, and, in fact, continued to remain the official policy so long as there were Hottentots who could be affected by it. It was:

'Eerst de Capitainen en opperhoofden van onse goede Intentie voor in te nemen en met geschenken smakelyk te maken haer onder Mal-kanderen met Jalousie verdeelt te houden is Wysheit gelyk 't voor-sigtigheid is, geen Oorlog onder haer te dulden ook niemand gedoogen verdrukt te worden, so sullen sy ons alle behoevende ons niet te magtig, nog ook onnut syn.'¹

But whatever the official policy may have been, the fiction upon which it was based was in glaring contrast with the reality of the situation. The independence of the Hottentots and their value as 'allies' were almost entirely conditioned by their wealth in cattle, and, as the number of these declined, so also did their independence. Even before 1685 the scarcity of cattle among the neighbouring clans was so great that it had been found necessary to trade at a distance of 50 or 60 *mylen* inland in order to obtain cattle.² The constant disputes between the various captains and their followers (which the authorities tried to put down), the depredations of the Bushmen, and, above all, the encroachment of the European who, in exchange for tobacco and brandy, carried on an illicit trade with the Hottentots in cattle, were some of the causes that led to this result.³ Before the end of the century these same clans had become so impoverished that they were being supplied by the Company with cattle to tend on shares. This attempt, we are told, to restore them to their former condition was a failure. By the beginning of the following century the very names of the original

not as subjects, but as friends and confederates, being allied with them and linked by a bond of friendship.] There are several cases to show that the local authorities did not tolerate crimes against the Hottentots on the part of Europeans and that, wherever possible, the culprits were severely punished.

¹ *Belang Hist. Dok.*, p. 43. [Tr.: 'First convincing the Captains and headmen of our good intention and humouring them with gifts to keep them divided by jealousy is both wisdom and prudence, to tolerate no war among them and also to allow none to be oppressed, in that way owing everything to us they will not be too powerful, and also not unserviceable.'] The same policy reappears in van der Stel's memorandum

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 373. Dispatch to Chamber XVII, Dec. 23, 1679. In 1699 Captain Bergh, commander of the Cape garrison, was sent on an urgent mission to obtain cattle. He reported that he had found the Hessequas, who had once been rich in cattle, 'ten kraals strong lying one beside the other, with many people and few cattle. I have aforetime visited them when these people were 85 kraals, one beside the other; now this nation is so impoverished that there is little to be got from them, and the Soesequas likewise.' *V.R.S.*, vol. xii, p. 69.

³ See Proclamation by Governor Bax on illicit trade, Nov. 1677, and for loss of cattle by intertribal disputes, van der Stel's memorandum. For displacement of Hottentots by the encroachments of Europeans on their grazing land, see van Rheede, *op. cit.*, pp. 214-15.

Cape Hottentot tribes seem to have been forgotten by the Europeans,¹ while the last remnants, scattered about in small kraals, were virtually exterminated by the small-pox epidemic in 1713.²

Even when the fiction of the 'free and independent' Hottentots still had some basis in fact, there were many individuals who had become dependent for some sort of livelihood upon the Europeans. Quite early in the history of the settlement, as we have seen, paltry services of a kind were performed by the Hottentots who lived near the Fort. At a later date we read of Hottentots in the employ of freemen by whom they were supplied with food. 'Thus, 'a great number of burghers complain of the Hottentots that they are openly seizing sheep and killing them and have not scrupled to plunder even the houses of the farmers in broad daylight. . . . The principal cause of this thieving is that the freemen, not being supplied with rice, have been compelled to discharge their Hottentots who are in a state of starvation.'³

After the development of the colony it became a regular practice for bands of Hottentots to be engaged by farmers, especially during certain seasons of the year. For the kinds of service performed for the agriculturists by these Hottentots, we have the elegant, though highly coloured, account of Grevenbroeck which, to some extent, is confirmed by several entries in the Diary of Adam Tas.⁴ In the town, according to another contemporary account, the Hottentots were 'employed in all servile Drudgeries.'⁵ And again:

'Those of the Hottentots that live by the Dutch Town have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch, for there is one or more of them belonging to every house. They do all sorts of servile work, and there take their Food and Grease. Three or four of their nearest relations sit at the Doors or near the Dutch House, waiting for the scraps and fragments that come from the Table; and if between meals the Dutch people have any occasion for them to go on errands, or the like, they are ready at command, expecting little for their pains; but for a Stranger they will not budge under a Stiver.'⁶

¹ 'The Lost Tribes of the Cape', L. Maingard, *S. I. A. A. S.*, vol. xviii, 1931.

² Compare the contemporary account of Valentyn, who speaks of the panic-stricken flight of the Hottentots, 'al vloekende op de Hollanders', in an attempt to escape from the ravages of the disease (op. cit., pp. 51-2).

³ Abstracts of the Debates and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape, 1651-1687, Apr. 23, 1678.

⁴ See Godee-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid-Afrika*, vol. iv, sect. 18, and the Diary of Adam Tas, Dec. 8 and Dec. 16, 1705. Valentyn also speaks of the *groot ongemak* to the Europeans, in town and country, caused by the great paucity of Hottentots after the small-pox epidemic (op. cit., pp. 51-2).

⁵ Ovington's 'Description of the Cape from a Voyage to Suratt in 1689', *V.R.S.*, vol. v, p. 105.

⁶ Dampier's *Description of the Cape from a New Voyage Round the World*, 5th ed., 1703. *V.R.S.*, vol. v, p. 126. This description might almost be mistaken for an account of some canine species.

Finally the relations between the free Hottentots and the Europeans, especially the agricultural section, were still further affected by the rise of a Hottentot-slave half-breed population. The attitude of the original Hottentots in the early days towards the slaves had, on the whole, been one of extreme hostility. Runaway slaves were either returned for the sake of the reward or else got rid of out of hand by being beaten to death,

'als wesende dese inlantie natie met een besonderen haat tegens slaven ingenoomen, en derhalven onmogelyck de sulcke die haar ter fugie begeven, derselven handen of anders van gebreck de doodt te ontkomen.'¹

But the large increase in the number of slaves and the great preponderance of male slaves, together with the general decline in the condition of the neighbouring Hottentots, gave rise before very long to a new turn in the situation which is reflected by the following petition presented to the Council of Policy from some farmers in the district of Stellenbosch:

'Your humble servants beg to represent that at the present conjuncture of time in consequence of the greater part of the Hottentots residing with the freemen for their own support, some of our male slaves cohabit with the female Hottentots and the children are brought up at their expense, but when they have reached an age to be of some use they are either enticed away or maliciously withdraw themselves from the duty they owe to those who have brought them up - thus frequently causing much inconvenience, from the want of the services expected in return for the expenses incurred - as has happened to some of the undersigned.

'We, therefore, pray that you may be pleased to fix a number of years during which these sprouts (afsetsels) may be bound to serve their foster-masters (voetster-baasen) and to make such regulations as will prevent others from enticing them away (debaucheren).'²

5. *The Free Agriculturists*

The opening decades of the eighteenth century may be conveniently regarded as the period during which social interactions released by the movement of agricultural colonization were be-

¹ Cape Archives, 496, p. 732, Aug. 16, 1673. [Tr.: 'These aborigines being filled with a particular hatred against slaves, and for that reason it is impossible for those who resort to them in flight to escape death, either directly at their hands or else of sheer starvation']

² Moodie, *Afschriften*, Extract of Resolution, Sept. 2, 1721. No action, however, was taken by the Council until many years later, when, in 1775, a regulation was issued that such children upon attaining the age of 18 months should be apprenticed to the owner of the farm on which they were living until they had reached the age of 25 years. See Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 168. And compare the correspondence between Fiscal and Landdrost with regard to this regulation. Cape Archives, Stellenbosch, 52 (by lae) and 29. For an extract from this correspondence see below, p. 130, footnote 1.

ginning to reach a state of relative equilibrium. The first main wave of European expansion 'across the Flats (described by Kolbe as "a large Desert" dividing the Colony of the Cape from the Colony of Stellenbosch') and towards the African mountains', was rapidly expending itself. It had, as a matter of fact, been overlapping, since the beginning of the century, with the first tentative stages of the second main wave of expansion into the more remote interior which was to continue for the rest of the century. Within the lifetime of a single generation, therefore, the agricultural community had reached a fairly advanced state of stability and might well be contrasted with the community that centred in the town, or with the community that was beginning to develop on an increasingly distant frontier.

The fact that the early and experimental stages of the colony had been completed with comparative ease and with considerable success, and that many of its inhabitants were soon able to live in a state of modest prosperity upon their own farms, must have had a marked effect upon the character and outlook of the whole community.² At any rate, it found members of that community who had sufficient spirit and sufficient confidence in their own position to fight vigorously for their rights as free agriculturists when these were being trampled upon by an unscrupulous governor. Thus the only real crisis that ever threatened the colony only served to place it on a firmer footing, since the conflict between the van der Stel faction and the agriculturists had ended in a notable victory for the latter. The wider implications of this episode have been very thoroughly dealt with elsewhere,³ but for our theme its main significance lies in the fact that it served to intensify group feeling and to crystallize a group sentiment. The time was ripe for just the sort of group self-consciousness that such a crisis might have provoked; and Hendrik Bibault's illuminating outburst, though it may easily be taken too seriously, may very well serve as an expression of a genuine fact.⁴ Although the differences that divided Hollanders (including members of 'duytse natien geen traficq by den zee doende') and French Huguenots had by

¹ Kolbe, *Cape of Good Hope*, vol. II, p. 9.

² The following account, which refers more particularly to the French Huguenots, is of some interest: 'Every one can conceive that, as all beginnings are not without difficulties, these good people likewise have theirs. But they have been generously and charitably assisted, and God has in the end blessed their labours so well, that they are at present all in easy circumstances; yea! that there are even some among them who are already rich.' Extract from the narrative of the voyages of François Leguat, quoted in the Appendix to *Rambles through the Archives of the Cape of Good Hope, 1688-1700*, by H. C. V. Leibrand.

³ L. Fouché, *Diary of Adam Tas*, Appendix, chap. 6.

⁴ J. I. Franken, 'Hendrik Bibault of die Opkoms van 'n Volk', *Die Huisgenoot*, Sept. 21, 1928, and E. A. Walker, *The Frontier Tradition in South Africa*, p. 9.

no means disappeared, we hear of 'Africanen' as well, for a generation was beginning to appear upon the scene of those who had been born in the country and who would soon outnumber and, in time, displace the older generation that had come from overseas.¹

Our 'Africanen', then, of European descent, member of a fairly well-defined, and increasingly homogeneous, group, characterized by its own background of social experience, ways of life and outlook, and even with the beginnings of its own characteristic language,² was definitely in the ascendant in the community. As a result of the status and independence he had acquired as a *vrye landbouwer*, whose interests would henceforth have to be considered even by the local officials, the colonist at the beginning of the eighteenth century was placed in a very favourable position over against the other elements of the population—a position that could only improve with time. The narrow, restrictive policy of the Company, dictated by its commercial aims, might hamper the economic development of the colony,³ but it could not interfere with the steady social development of a land-owning and slave-owning class. No further attempt was ever made to experiment with European labourers as in the early days, since the large importations of slaves, and the use that could be made of Hottentot labour, had made the existence of such a class unnecessary. When the opportunity presented itself for the last time of changing this state of affairs it was rejected.⁴ Manual work of all kinds became infected with the taint of servility, and for that reason there was an interesting reluctance on the part of all Europeans to engage in such work.⁵

Apart from the powerful influence of the immediate environment, there were other factors that also contributed their share towards the total effect. One such was the absence of any kind of class division based upon birth among the European population itself of the colony. There was no aristocratic element with large

¹ Of six of the most prominent leaders who suffered most at the hands of the younger van der Stel, two were described by a contemporary writer, Bogaert, as 'Nederlanders', two as 'Fransen', and two as 'Africanen'.

² J. L. Franken, *ibid.*

³ For some interesting details on this point, see F. C. Dominicus, *Het Huiselik en Maatschappelyk Leven van de Zuid-Afrikaner*.

⁴ See Report of Chavannes and his Council, 1717, *I' R S.*, vol. i.

⁵ Compare the following opinion of one member of the Council: 'As regards increasing the population in this Colony (under this government), it must be remembered that here, as well as elsewhere throughout the whole of India, Europeans are, as befits their position, less industrious in carrying on their trades than in the land of their birth. No matter how poor a person is, he will not accustom himself to perform the work of slaves, as he thinks in this way to distinguish himself from a slave' (*ibid.*, p. 121). And compare the account of van Imhoff, more than a generation later, exactly to the same effect, only more so (*ibid.*, p. 62).

landed estates to introduce the social distinctions that existed elsewhere, as was the case in some of the English colonies that had grown up in North America. The average size of a freehold farm was 60 morgen, and the immigrants who came to the country, although for the most part of a decent and respectable class, *resorteerende onder de generaalityt*, were small men—and no more. But they were drawn from stocks—Dutch burghers and French Huguenots—among whom the independence of the plain man had become a tradition. Many of them had come direct to the Cape from the mother country, and not via a discharge from the Company's service, so that they were more likely to show an independent spirit and less likely to submit tamely to the pretensions of the Company's officials than those who had passed some time in the service of the Company.¹ In this respect, the French Huguenots, who had left their own country rather than forsake their religion and bow their knee to one tyrant, were least likely of all to submit to an invasion of what they considered to be their rights, as even the elder van der Stel discovered, much to his annoyance.

The rapid assimilation of these people through intermarriage was made easy by the similarity in religion, which in this case served as a bridge and not as a barrier. The effect of the Gallic blood and temperament in leavening the lump of Dutch (and German) stolidity has often been remarked upon, though, like all such racial or quasi-racial theories, this hypothesis required further confirmation. But there can be less doubt about the effect which the Huguenots, even as a minority, produced upon the religious substratum of the community. Like the English Puritans in New England, with whom they had much in common, the French Huguenots were much more keenly conscious of their religion as a very vital thing than were the Dutch; they had actually suffered persecution in their own persons for its sake. They had come to the Cape so that they might practise it freely, and it would have been strange indeed if, as a result, the social significance of religion, its role as an integrating factor, its position as a community value, had not been enhanced. The character of this religion, which was also the creed of their Dutch neighbours, was strictly Calvinistic. Its theology was of an uncompromising and formidable kind since it was based upon the most extreme form of the principle of predestination.² If such a religion had any influence at all upon the

¹ One of the reasons that determined the Directors to prohibit further immigration was just this spirit as displayed by the immigrants from overseas.

² A. J. Grant, *The Huguenots*, p. 18. The principle itself, as stated by Calvin, reads: 'In conformity to the clear teaching of scripture we assert that by an eternal and immutable counsel God hath once for all determined both whom he would admit to salvation and whom he would condemn to destruction.'

life of the group, it could only be by way of strengthening its religious basis, of emphasizing its exclusive bias, and of confirming an assured belief in its own superiority. The importance of these effects on the development of race attitudes will become more apparent at a later stage in that development.

VI

THE EVOLUTION OF A FRONTIER

1. *The Expansion 'Overbergh'*

THE aim of the Company's policy of colonization had been to establish at the Cape a sufficiently large agricultural population that would convert a precarious occupation into a firmly established possession whose defence could be provided for out of local resources.¹ In this way, the security of the Cape in the interests of the Company would be guaranteed, the burden of its defence reduced, and the Company continue to enjoy the advantages of its position. In the elder van der Stel the Company was fortunate enough to find the man with the necessary drive and enthusiasm required for making a success of its policy. Under the watchful eye of the Governor the affairs of the inhabitants were supervised and controlled, and the country districts confined to those limits that lay within easy reach of the Cape. The country inhabitants were not permitted to spread themselves too far afield. If this closed system was to be a success, no purely private or individual dispersion could be tolerated, since it would soon lead to some of the inhabitants evading their responsibilities or engaging in practices that the government would be unable to control.

In the memorandum which he drew up for his son and successor, van der Stel is very obviously concerned about certain disintegrating tendencies that were already beginning to manifest themselves and to threaten the stability of the system. Thus certain of the inhabitants were neglecting agriculture for the sake of the vine, slaughtering their cattle and impoverishing the soil,

'sig niet ontsiende uytgeputte landen te verlaten en wederom andre nicuwe Landeryen in derselver plaatsen te versoecken. Sig excuserende, dat sy niet genoegsaam van vee voorsien zynde haare Landeryen niet wel en kunnen mesten, en vervolgens ook geen Coorn bouwen, Welke

¹ 'I readily agree with Mr. van Assenburgh when he says in his letter of the 10th August, 1708, to the authorities in Holland that our land militia should be our principal defence in case of attack . . .' (Report of van Imhoff, 1743, *V.R.S.*, vol. i, p. 121). Compare also the attitude of van der Stel to the French immigrants, whom he mistrusted on the ground that they were likely to prove disloyal in the case of a French attack on the Cape. Landdrost Starrenburgh expressed the same views rather more frankly a few years later (1705): 'I am assured that so the French ships did fall upon the Cape ye should hold to the Frenchmen against the Company' (L. Fouché, *The Diary of Adam Tas*, Appendix, chap. 6).

sinistre streken indien UE. quamt in te volgen, soo soude geheel africa niet genoeg syn, om dat geslag van menschen te kunnen gerieven en voldoen. En boovendien, soo en zyn ook die Luyden niet geneeger als om tot eygen nooddrift zaayende, hunne plaatsen soo ver Landwaards in te neemen, dat zy onder dat pretext, hun verder Subsistentie by de hottentots, door 't ruilen van vee, booter, en melk, komen te soeken, en daar van ten principaale hun werk maken.¹

As a result of these activities, the Company's cattle trade with the Hottentots had seriously declined, while the number of roving individuals, with no fixed abode, who were a nuisance, and even a menace, to the more sober and settled inhabitants, had increased. To put a stop to this vagabondage, the Landdrost (for it was the country districts that were chiefly concerned) should be encouraged, at every convenient opportunity, to require the inhabitants to produce their *vrybrieven*, especially those who were always moving from place to place without given notice to the authorities. In this way, the role of the colony in the general scheme of things would not be hampered;

'ende alsoo 's Comps. oogwit meest bestaat in de verseekerde possessie deser Landen, Soo sal 't vooral nodig zyn dat de Inwoonderen alhier niet en werden gepermitteerd, de soo diep landwaarts in, en soo ver van anderen afgeleggen Landeryen te beslaan, soo tot voorkoming van haar voorsz. snooden handel, als wel voornementlyk mede op dat sy digt den anderen woonende, in Cas van vyandelyke aanstoot des te gevoegelyker door haar officieren soude kunnen werden gewaarschouwt, en op de gewoone zeynen tot de algemeene defensie onder hare vendelen en standarden te samen koomen.²

Van der Stel's colonial system, in fact, had hardly been brought into existence when it began to show evident signs of breaking down under the pressure of local circumstances. The opportunities provided by the cattle trade with the Hottentots in the interior were

¹ FRS, vol. v, p. 13. [Tr.: 'not hesitating to abandon the exhausted fields and to request afresh other new farms in the same neighbourhood. Putting forward as an excuse that they, not sufficiently provided with cattle, are unable to fertilize their farms, and consequently can grow no corn, so that should your Honour be deceived by such sinister tricks, the whole of Africa would not suffice to serve and satisfy that class of person. And in addition, these people not being inclined to sow for their own need, occupy land so far into the interior that they by means of that pretext, seek their further livelihood by bartering cattle, butter, and milk with the Hottentots, and make that their chief business.']

² Ibid., vol. v, p. 16. [Tr.: 'and since the Co.'s aim chiefly consists in the assured possession of this country, for that reason it will be a matter of especial concern that the inhabitants here should not be permitted to occupy farms too far into the interior and too remote from others, both for the sake of putting a stop to their aforementioned evil trade as well as that in particular by living close to the rest, they may more effectively be warned by their officers in case of hostile attack, and at the usual signals assemble for the general defence under their flags and standards.']

too tempting to be resisted by an increasing number of private individuals. Even although those engaged in this cattle bootlegging were not among the most respectable of the inhabitants, it is not likely that they were all members of that vagabond class which at this time provided such a useful scapegoat on to which accusations could be diverted from the more respectable members of the community. The proclamation issued by van der Stel in 1697, in which the cattle trade with the Hottentots was forbidden on pain of the most severe penalties, including whipping, branding, banishment, and confiscation of property,¹ seems to indicate a widespread participation in an illicit trade which was becoming a regular occupation even for those who had some property to confiscate. For that reason, and because of the connivance of the more respectable inhabitants who either supported or had an interest in these ventures, the authorities could do very little to restrain the trade except by means of proclamations. And when in 1699 the whole policy of prohibition was reversed by a decision of the Directors to throw open the cattle trade to the colonists, the existing activities in that direction were simply carried farther afield and on a more ambitious scale.

The parties of Europeans who travelled inland were at liberty to do very much as they pleased in their efforts to obtain cattle; and we are not surprised to learn that, as the result of these efforts, the Hottentots 'feared the freemen terribly'.² The sort of thing that was likely to happen under the circumstances is well illustrated by the record of one party, consisting of forty-five Europeans 'of the worst stamp' and an equal number of Hottentots, who, it was alleged, had been equipped by people who did not join the expedition.³ The expedition proceeded as far east as the Fish River, where it was attacked by Kaffirs.

'The attack was easily repulsed by the traders, but by way of revenge they abandoned themselves to plunder, and losing their self-control they proceeded to fall upon the Hottentots as well, making booty of their cattle, and overpowering all resistance.'⁴

This case may well have been an exceptional one, but there can be no doubt that the permission to engage in the cattle trade was abused by those colonists who took part in it, so that there was every justification for withdrawing the privilege by the Governor, a step which was officially sanctioned by the Directors.⁵ But,

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 400.

² Leibbrandt, *op. cit.*, Journal, Apr. 11, 1707.

³ *Ibid.*, Journal, Oct. 27, 1702.

⁴ L. Fouché, *Diary of Adam Tas*, Appendix, p. 199.

⁵ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 417.

whether with official sanction or not, the private cattle trade and its attendant incidents continued to exist as a feature of life on, and beyond, the frontier so long as there remained cattle in the possession of the Hottentots that could be acquired by the Europeans.

Of far greater importance, however, than the penetration of the interior by cattle-trading and other marauding expeditions, for the impending expansion of the European occupation of the country, *Landvaards en overbergh*, was the increased development of the cattle industry. Hitherto, the policy of the Company at the Cape had been of supplying its own needs by means of stock acquired by official trading expeditions or by breeding. The Company had several cattle stations on which its stock was kept under the supervision of its servants. But from the beginning of the century a new policy of encouraging the colonists to apply themselves more extensively to the raising of cattle and sheep was introduced, as a result of which the Company hoped to relieve itself finally of the responsibility for supplying its local needs. Cattle trading with the Hottentots was becoming a laborious business, so that by entering into contracts with private individuals for supplying cattle, while at the same time providing more facilities for securing supplies, the Company was acting in the interests of all concerned.

This new development was a radical departure from the policy followed by the Company since the days of van Riebeeck, when the Company had always provided for its own needs and had jealously guarded its monopoly of the cattle trade with the same end in view; and with it went van der Stel's ideal of an agricultural colony confined within prescribed limits. When he was succeeded by his son in 1699, the Colony covered a fairly compact area extending as far as Groenberg (just beyond the present site of Wellington). In the following year permission was given to several farmers to graze their cattle beyond this area at Riebeeck's Kasteel; and in the same year the 'Tulbagh basin was occupied by a number of newly arrived immigrants who intended to make their living mainly as graziers,¹ since agriculture at such a distance from the Cape market was out of the question in view of transport difficulties. For a short while the use of the country beyond the Hottentots Holland mountains for grazing purposes was denied the colonists owing to the Governor having reserved that area for his private purposes; but after his recall expansion in that direction set in as well. Sup-

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 399. For extent of European occupation in 1700, see map facing page 399. A dispatch of Mar. 31, 1700, states that 'in all this tract of country as far as could be observed, few or no Hottentots are to be found, for in this neighbourhood they have also much diminished through poverty and mortality and have fallen back in the world through their apathetic laziness'

ported by the graziers who were pushing their way down the Breede River valley from the Tulbagh basin, the expansion to the east along the coastal belt proceeded apace, so that, by 1730, stock farmers were found as far afield as Mossel Bay. To the north, the movement had gone far beyond the Great Berg River in the direction of the Oliphants River, and across into the Bokkeveld.¹

The cattle graziers who were spreading outwards in this way into the interior were entering country that had been familiar for some time past to many of the colonists. Apart from the exploring expeditions of the early days and the trading expeditions of more recent times, the country beyond the settled area had always been a favourite ground for hunters. While the settlement was still confined to the peninsula, permission had been granted from time to time to the freemen to shoot game, especially the hippopotami that abounded in the Great Berg River. The shooting of game was strictly controlled by the Company and a licence had to be obtained for the purpose. The first licences were issued in 1670, and permitted the freemen to hunt large game wherever they chose.² In 1672 and 1673, hunting parties, accompanied by wagons for loading the meat and skins, had gone as far as Riebeeck's Kasteel and Four-and-Twenty Rivers, where they were attacked by Gonnema's people.³ After the development of the colony, hunting parties were obliged to go still farther afield to find game, and for the purpose the favourite hunting-grounds lay to the north-west in the direction of the Oliphants River. The graziers, therefore, who entered these parts were occupying country the value of which for grazing purposes was well known from the observations and reports of hunters. It is, in fact, very likely that the opportunities for hunting which were provided by the mode of life of the grazier, were an additional incentive that induced many to prefer it to the more exacting and less exciting life of the agriculturist.⁴ In this connexion, it is of some significance to note that as the number of licences for occupying land for grazing purposes increased, so the number of hunting licences steadily diminished.⁵

In its early stages the new developments in the cattle industry, and the expansion of the area of occupation to which it led, did not bring about any marked change either in the social or economic life of the European community. It was, in the beginning, no more

¹ For extent of European occupation in 1730, see map in C. S. Botha, *Social Life in the Cape Colony in the 18th Century*.

² Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 212. Compare also the case of the three hunters who had crossed the mountains to shoot game in the Breede River, where they were murdered in 1676.

⁴ L. Fouché, *Die Evolutie van die Trekboer*.

⁵ A. J. H. van der Walt, *Die Ausdehnung der Kap der Guten Hoffnung*, p. 20.

than a natural consequence of the increase in scope of an industry that had already assumed large proportions under the existing system. For years past, the colonists had been encouraged to combine the breeding of cattle and sheep with agriculture and viticulture. Within the colony itself there had been a good deal of grazing land available since the dispersal of the Hottentot clans; and mixed farming offered many advantages. For one thing, it provided the colonists with their own supplies of meat, while the surplus could be disposed of to licensed butchers in the town, or to strangers who called at the Cape and who would otherwise have had to be supplied from the Company's own resources. For another thing, cattle breeding by the colonists themselves would tend to remove the temptation to engage in private trade with the Hottentots and provide an insurance against a scarcity of cattle such as had threatened the settlement in the early days.¹ And for the success of the agricultural industry itself the farmer required cattle to till and fertilize the soil.² The large numbers of cattle and sheep in the possession of the colonists show plainly enough the important part which the cattle industry played in the economy of the colony.³

The problem of pasturage for such a large number of stock had become acute by the beginning of the century, and could only have been solved sooner or later by granting permission to extend the grazing area beyond the colonial boundaries. We have seen how in 1700 permission was granted to several farmers from Drakenstein to graze their cattle at Riebeeck's Kasteel, which was well beyond the boundary. After the introduction of the policy of relying upon private sources for supplies, it became the regular practice of farmers to obtain permission to graze their cattle at some defined locality, north or north-east of Stellenbosch; but if the pasturage failed or did not prove as good as was anticipated there was no hesitation about moving on to a fresh locality.⁴ In many cases the cattle were placed in charge of European servants, older sons, reliable half-breeds, or even slaves, while the owner remained on his own farm in the agricultural area. For several

¹ In 1688 a proclamation against grazing cattle 'upon distant and unknown places' was founded upon the 'inevitable famine' that would be caused by 'the cattle being slaughtered without the consent of the Government'. Moodie, *Records*, footnote, p. 423.

² See above, p. 89.

³ Return of stock in possession of the colonists:

	Cattle	Sheep
1687	2,951	30,142
1691	4,108	48,700
1700	8,357	53,971
1708	14,320	89,533

⁴ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 403.

years no charge was made for the use of land for grazing purposes, but in 1714 the system of loan farms was introduced as a means of regularizing the haphazard occupation of land which often led to disputes, and of raising additional revenue for the government. For a nominal payment a large tract of land to be used as a stock farm or cattle-run, and usually not less than 3,000 morgen in extent, could be occupied on an annual lease and so secured against trespass. The Company reserved the right to refuse the renewal of the lease and the land was never allowed to become the freehold property of the lessee. But in practice the claim of the lessee to renew the lease as often as he liked, provided that he paid the rent, was recognized.¹

This form of loan-farm tenure became the universal system of land tenure outside the agricultural area in which alone land could be held in freehold. Although the system provided a reasonable security of occupation, it offered no inducement to a permanent occupation. The ease with which one 'place' could be abandoned and another occupied encouraged the tendency to go on moving from one locality to another, so that in time the *vee-boer* and the *trek-boer* were often one and the same person. But in its early stages the expansion of European occupation beyond the colonial area was merely the expression of forces already operating within the colony itself. As the result of a new policy, these forces were being released from the restriction that had hitherto confined them within a circumscribed area. Their extension beyond that area, therefore, represented primarily the readjustment of an already existing system. The centre of gravity remained within the colony and there was, as yet, no very marked tendency on the part of the cattle graziers to lose touch with, or to break the ties that linked them to, that centre. In its turn, the central government recognized its obligation to supervise, control, and protect the graziers by a system of military posts and punitive expeditions against the marauding Bushmen.²

But while this expansion registered merely the culmination of one development, it served at the same time as the initial and preparatory stage of an entirely different kind of development, brought into play by a different set of forces and diverging more and more from its predecessor.³ The transition in character from

¹ It was, for example, considered a highly arbitrary procedure on the part of Governor Noodt, who made a practice of refusing to renew the lease of a loan-farm, not to the occupier himself, but to his heir. Compare Mentzel, *The Cape in Mid-18th Century*, pp. 77-8.

² P. E. Roux, *Die Verdediging Stelsel aan die Kaap*, chap. 6.

³ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 403-4. Compare also L. Fouché, *Die Evoluitie van die Trekboer*.

the one to the other was gradual and imperceptible but nevertheless real. The same individuals took part in both, but with a change in outlook that, on the psychological plane, must have corresponded with the growing centrifugal tendency. The economic depression at the Cape, especially as it affected agriculture, became chronic from 1716 onwards,¹ and the rising costs of production only made the difficulties of obtaining a livelihood still greater. The policy of the Directors from this time on definitely aimed at reducing the scale of production in agriculture and at restricting the acquisition of land in freehold by the freemen.² Of all the ways available for easing the situation, none offered the same prospect of immediate relief as whole-time stock farming. Both for the local authorities and for the colonists, it was the path of least resistance. For younger sons it was, no doubt, in many cases the only way out. The expansion outwards, therefore, became to an ever-increasing degree a dispersion which spread in all directions over a vast area and to which there appeared to be no natural limits.

By the middle of the century, stock farmers were in occupation of the Bokkeveld, the Roggeveld, and across the Oliphants River to the north and north-east, while in an easterly direction they had spread themselves across the Little Karroo and along the coastal belt as far as the Little Brak River.³ Van Imhoff, who stayed at the Cape for more than a month in 1743, during which time he carried out a thorough inspection of the colony's affairs, mentions in his report that the loan farms at the time of his visit numbered about 400.⁴ Although many of these farms were leased to individuals resident in the colony, probably as many as half, or even more, were held by stock farmers who, with their families, lived on them the whole year round.⁵ Under these circumstances, the life of the stock farmer became a very different affair from anything that had hitherto existed at the Cape. By his mode of life, the stock farmer who depended for his entire livelihood upon the increase of his flocks and herds was obliged to move whenever the pasturage failed or when seasonal changes required a new pasturage. He could not root himself to any one spot since, whenever better grazing grounds were discovered and unoccupied, he would be bound in his own interests to occupy them. The strongly built ox-wagons were admirably adapted for the purpose of trekking

¹ Report of Chavonnes and his Council, *F.R.S.*, vol. 1.

² A. J. H. van der Walt, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-4.

³ C. G. Botha, *op. cit.*, for map. Compare Reis van Vaandrigh Beutler, *Bland Hist. Dok.*, vols. 1-2, p. 15.

⁴ Report, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

⁵ In 1720 15 families, in 1725 50 families, in 1735 122 families were living permanently on loan farms. Van der Walt, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

from place to place and could at the same time provide comfortable living and sleeping quarters. The wattle-and-daub houses that served the needs of a more prolonged occupation were not sufficient to tie down the frontier farmer to any one place. A good many, in fact, were without a claim to any loan farm and led a purely nomadic kind of existence, trekking from place to place and living in their wagons.¹ In a country poorly supplied with streams and with large tracts of stony, sandy, or brackish soil unsuited for any kind of grazing, any spot with a spring and with good grazing ground in the vicinity was a favourite choice for a loan farm.² Neighbours were not too welcome unless they remained at such a distance that there was no risk of trespass even beyond the very vague boundaries of the loan farm.³ As the number of these stock farmers increased, either by accession from without or by the coming of age of those born in the environment, any pressure for room could immediately be relieved by occupying a place still farther afield, since there were few serious obstacles, either due to natural difficulties or to the presence of any native pastoralists, in the way.⁴ So the dispersion proceeded apace, until, by 1779, it had reached the Bushmans River, Agter Bruntjes Hoogte, and the Upper Fish River to the east, while to the north and north-west it extended beyond the Sneeuwberg Range, the Nieuwveld Range, the Hantamberg as far as the Khamiesberg.⁵

¹ See Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa*, on the 'wandering men', vol. ii, p. 83; also Moodie, op. cit., pt. iii, pp. 4-5.

² Mentzel describes the Hottentots 'as the bloodhounds who smell out the most fertile lands' from which they are sooner or later ousted, or induced to withdraw, by some stock farmer (*Description of the Cape*, pt. 1, p. 36). Thunberg makes a statement to the same effect in his *Travels in Europe, Africa and Asia*, vol. 1, p. 59.

³ Compare Moodie, *Afschriften*, Letter from Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor, May 16, 1750. In this letter the Landdrost reports the frequent complaints made by persons having settled on loan farms that others were placing themselves too near. He describes as held by four farmers a tract of land shut in by mountains, called Egypt, about 5 hours in length and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth—two of them complain of a fifth coming 'too near' to them. The area was $67\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, that of five loan farms is about 45 square miles. This kind of 'trespassing' led to a good deal of litigation.

⁴ For rate of increase among the stock farmers and the uniformly large size of families see Lichtenstein, op. cit., pp. 139-40. The following table, taken from Moodie, of changes and new occupations of loan farms granted from 1768 to 1778 inclusive is of some interest.

1768.	Out of 94,	53 were farms not previously granted,	41 were changes of residence.
1769.	" 178,	138 " " " "	40 " "
1770.	" 147,	91 " " " "	56 " "
1771.	" 148,	88 " " " "	60 " "
1772.	" 146,	88 " " " "	68 " "
1773.	" 133,	73 " " " "	60 " "
1774.	" 80,	31 " " " "	49 " "
1775.	" 117,	11 " " " "	76 " "
1776.	" 158,	59 " " " "	99 " "
1777.	" 160,	44 " " " "	119 " "
1778.	" 124,	23 " " " "	102 " "

⁵ See maps, C. G. Botha, op. cit., and A. J. H. van der Walt, op. cit.

2. *The Frontier*

This dispersion over a vast area in the interior at a rate, and in a way, that could never have been foreseen by any contemporary observer when it first began created an entirely new kind of situation that would give rise in time to a host of consequences, economic, political, racial, and social, which were to modify profoundly the mentality of those who were affected by them. The conditions of life under these circumstances made very different demands upon the individual compared with those in a more or less stabilized agricultural colony. The adjustments required to make life tolerable were in time to lead to the development of a new type of individual characterized by the qualities required for successful adjustment. The stock farmer, by the very nature of his occupation, was committing himself to a mode of life which, under the circumstances of time and place, cut him loose from the social system that had developed at the Cape and to which he had hitherto been attached, if only as a floating member on the periphery. We expect to find, therefore, a new kind of society evolving that would perform the same functions for its members as the old, and without which, as mere isolated individuals, they could hardly have survived. There were not wanting at the Cape observers who, even before the dispersion of the stock farmers had reached the dimensions that it eventually did towards the end of the century, were seriously alarmed by its effects upon the individual and feared that his ultimate fate was found to be a reversion to a state of more or less complete barbarism. One such was the Commissioner van Imhoff, who, in a dispatch to the Directors, comments upon the low state of religion and the large proportion of the inhabitants who 'were so ignorant and indifferent that they cared little or nothing for religion and thus were more like an assemblage of blind heathen than a colony of Europeans and Christians'.¹ Two reasons were assigned for this state of affairs: one, that it was partly due to indolence and bad education of the old, but, chiefly, to the great extent of the country and the great distances of the abodes of a great many of the inhabitants from the churches of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.²

That the fate visualized by van Imhoff overtook a small fraction of those who were dispersed over the interior is a fact for which a good deal of evidence exists, as we shall see at a later stage; but the extent to which any such radical 'rebarbarization' took place

¹ Dispatch dated Mar. 15, 1743 (Moodie, *Afschriften*).

² Van Imhoff issued instructions that two churches to serve the needs of the outlying population, some of whom were then 120 hours inland, should be erected at Roodezand (Tulbagh) and at Zwartland (Malmesbury).

was negligible in comparison with the successful preservation of its social or racial identity on the part of a group that became progressively more race-conscious and more determined than ever to maintain its integrity as the dispersion increased in scope. Those observers who were alarmed about the future prospects of the stock farmers, and more particularly of the younger generation, were outsiders whose point of view and whose conclusions, therefore, were determined by the society of which they were members.¹ What they failed to realize when making their forecasts was the possibility of a new society, with its own group consciousness, being forced into existence by the force of circumstances. For the stock farmer who appeared to be turning his back upon civilized society—as he certainly was in a physical or material sense—was taking with him those of its elements that could be reshaped to form the framework of a new society. It was these psychological elements—these social attitudes, prejudices, and beliefs that were already part of the social heritage—that preserved the social cohesion of the group in spite of isolation and dispersion. The new society retained, as well as discarded, many features of the old, but always in a way that reflected the influence of its environmental conditions and the selective effects which these conditions exercised upon the individual as a member of that society.

The stock farmer when he crossed the mountain barrier into the interior and finally committed himself to his new way of life was at the same time extending the boundaries of European occupation into new territory. He lived on a frontier that was constantly advancing as the result of his own dispersion and, by the very nature of his way of life, he remained a frontiersman. For several generations there was no obstacle that could put a stop to his advance. During that period of time the frontier was not a boundary that prescribed a limit beyond which he could not go, but simply the last stage of an advance that was constantly being succeeded by the next and further stage. In such a process, 'the frontier (was) the outer edge of the wave—the meeting-point between savagery and civilization',² and thus constituted an environment entirely different from that found in the settled area from which the stock farmer originally derived. Isolated in such an environment—for communication of any kind was a long and

¹ It became quite an article of faith among the officials at the Cape that the inhabitants of the interior were all reverting to barbarism. Cf. Clappenburgh, *Journal*, 1768, Cape Archives, and, especially, Resolution, 1786, Cape Archives, 79, pp. 424-6.

² F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, p. 4; see also, E. A. Walker, *The Frontier Tradition in South Africa*.

tedious business—the frontier farmer had to adapt himself to conditions of life that were crude to a degree. Hence his clothing, his diet, the shelter which he erected for himself and his family, were reduced to the bare minimum required to satisfy his needs.¹ There was no scope for the refinements of life, and once they had been stripped away he soon learned to do without them. In the long run, and under such conditions, the frontier subdued the farmer and stamped him indubitably as its product. Outside his own environment and in the presence of strangers, the frontiersman was like a fish out of water,² who would, as soon as he could, escape to his own habitat. On the frontier, the farmer felt free, he moved in familiar surroundings, he suffered from no sense of inferiority, and he claimed a status that placed him far above the level of those by whom he was surrounded. Thrown upon his own resources, the frontier farmer had learned to incorporate those ways of life as habits, those organizations of group activity as institutions, those modes of thinking, feeling, and behaving as attitudes, which were conditioned by his experiences and which enabled him to come to terms with, and to adapt himself to, his environment.

When we bear in mind that the frontier farmer had come from a community organized on a basis of slavery, a community in which the European belonged to the slave-owning class, we expect to find the slave-owning mentality carried over into the new environment and playing some part in shaping the attitudes, and determining the behaviour of the individuals concerned, in further racial contacts on the frontier. Although the farmer was not, as a rule, a slave-owner, his immediate forebears in many cases had been slave-owners, and the slave-owning tradition dies hard.³ Even when reconditioned by the environment, it persisted as a part of his mind, as a mental background against which racial attitudes more directly determined by his immediate experiences would be developed. When we bear in mind, further, that the frontier farmer had come from a social environment in which Hottentots already occupied a status even below that of the slave and, therefore, immeasurably lower than that of the European, by whom they were regarded as some sort of inferior race without

¹ Long before the dispersion of the stock farmers had reached any extent we find the conditions characteristic of their mode of life already well developed at the beginning of the century. See Kolbe, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 56–7. For an account of the same mode of life at about the middle of the century, see Mentzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130–1, and towards the end of the century, Resolution, 1786.

² C. de Jong, *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, 1791–7, Brief XXII, who met some frontier farmers at the Cape, says that ‘hunne schaamte belettede hen seker te antwoorden, en men moet hun de woorden uit den hals halen’.

³ Compare the accusations brought against the emigrant farmers of the Great Trunk (1836).

any caste and with no rights of their own to speak of,¹ we expect to find that further contacts with the members of this race under frontier conditions would merely accentuate existing race attitudes almost to a morbid degree. And, finally, when we bear in mind that the frontier farmers were engaged over wide areas in a constant struggle with the Bushmen, a struggle which increased in intensity and bitterness during the century and which was conducted in a merciless fashion on both sides, we expect to find that this species of border warfare would tend to stiffen the race attitudes of the European. The cardinal offence of the Bushman in the eyes of the European was that he refused to submit, that he was actually aggressive and a constant thorn in the flesh, and that, to the very last, he resisted the frontier farmer's encroachments until he was driven out or exterminated.²

3. *The Commando System*

Of all the institutions that were most clearly the reflection of frontier life the commando system was the most characteristic. It had developed as a response to the demand for security on the part of a community that had been left to fend for itself, and its defects were largely due to that fact. Until the beginning of the eighteenth century and while the area of European occupation was still confined to the colony, the responsibility for its defence had been undertaken by the Company. For that purpose a system of small military posts was established and garrisoned by Company soldiers who were usually in charge of a sergeant or corporal. In addition to many such posts near the Cape, the majority of which had become quite useless as the result of the early expansion of the settlement, three posts were established in 1715 as far afield as the Hex River, the Witsenberg, and Picqueniërs Kloof in order to protect the farmers in the neighbourhood who were, at that time, being severely harassed by the Bushmen.³ When more active measures were required, an official commando consisting of soldiers in charge of an officer of the Cape garrison and accompanied

¹ The legal fiction that the Hottentots as the original inhabitants of the country were not amenable to the law of the land, led in practice to a denial of any legal right or protection. Since they were neither free men nor slaves nor serfs, the closest analogy seems to be simply that of outcasts.

² Compare the struggle with the Red Indian on the frontier in North America. Even before the expansion to the West, the colonists in New England at the beginning of the eighteenth century were hunting down and scalping the 'tawney serpents', as the Red Indians were called. See F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

³ See P. E. Roux, *op. cit.*, for map and details. These three posts were withdrawn in the following year at the request of the farmers themselves since they hampered the illicit trade in cattle with the Hottentots.

by the freemen and Hottentots concerned would take the field. These official commandos, like their unofficial successors, were all in the nature of punitive expeditions, such as one of the first against Gonnema in 1673; and they were employed on behalf of friendly or allied Hottentots, such as the one sent to assist Captain Klaas in 1694,¹ as well as on behalf of the freeman. Any attempt by the freemen to engage in unauthorized expeditions on their own, such as the one organized in 1701 by Gerrit Cloete and his friends, assisted by the Hottentot Captain Kees and some of his followers, against the Bushmen in the Obiqua Mountains, was strongly disapproved of by the government.²

It was not until some time after the beginning of the eighteenth century that the commando system, as a characteristic feature of frontier life, began to take shape. In 1715 the raids by Bushmen on the herds of the farmers were more than usually serious, owing, perhaps, to the disastrous effects of the small-pox epidemic of 1713 upon the Hottentots, which had deprived these cattle raiders of their usual sources of supply;³ and in that year the first purely colonial commando, under the command of one of their own number, took the field with the approval of the government. In this way there arose a natural and convenient division of labour between the government and the farmers who were spreading into the interior. While the former considered that their main responsibility was the defence of the Cape against attack by a European power, the latter were left to deal with the Bushmen on their own account. For the defence of the Cape, the government could rely upon the regular garrison and such of the local burgher militia as were available. All the burghers of the districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and at a later date Swellendam, were obliged to serve in this militia, which had its own burgher officers and was under the control of a military board for each district. The military value of the militia was not very great, for the burghers were only obliged to assemble occasionally at the head-quarters of their respective districts for a short period of military exercise. In 1726 a proposal to organize the local inhabitants along the lines of the Swiss military system for the defence of the Cape, though its execution was ordered by the Council of Seventeen, had to be abandoned as impracticable. The military boards of the Cape and Stellenbosch districts (the Swellendam district had not yet come into existence) were both strongly opposed to the scheme, on the ground that the great distances at which large numbers of the

¹ Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 414-15. Compare Journal, Sept. 12, 1702.

² Theal, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 414-15.

³ See below, p. 103, footnote 2.

inhabitants resided even at this early date made frequent attendance at head-quarters for the necessary drill very difficult, especially during the rainy season.¹ An even greater objection appeared to be the risks that would be run by leaving the women and children exposed to attacks by slaves and Hottentots. Under the existing system, there were already many absentees at the annual review, 'for the men prefer paying the established penalties to leaving their families and properties at the mercy of slaves and Hottentots'.²

During the middle half of the century commandos took the field at regular intervals and reports of their proceedings were duly forwarded to the central authorities for their consideration. After 1739 service on commando became obligatory, and a special class of burgher officer with the rank of *veld korporaal* was created, to take charge of a commando when on active service.³ During this period the authorities at Capetown, as well as the local landdrosts, appear to have exerted themselves to some effect in keeping a watchful eye on the proceedings of the commandos. Thus in 1747 the Council at Capetown called for an inquiry into the case of some captured Bushmen women and children who had been, according to the report of the burgher officer in command, handed over to be massacred by the Hottentots who were acting as guides to the commando, while in 1764 the landdrost of Swellendam reports that he has instituted an inquiry into the case of a commando which had overtaken 'a gang of predatory Bosjesman Hottentots and shot them all'.⁴

The year 1774 is a landmark in the history of the commando system of the eighteenth century. By 1770, as we have seen, the frontier farmers of the Stellenbosch district, which embraced the whole of the vast inland area to the north, had crossed the waste of the Great Karroo and were firmly established in country that had hitherto been exclusively occupied by Bushmen. In these parts the Bushmen hordes appear to have been more numerous and more aggressive than those that had been encountered nearer the Cape. At any rate, from now on the attacks on the farmers who were entering and taking possession of country that might fairly

¹ Moodie, *Afschriften*, Reply of the Stellenbosch Military Board. The relevant passage reads: 'First, the great extent of the country, and the great distances at which, in consequence of the scarcity of pasture, and the mortality of the cattle, at least two-thirds of the inhabitants are compelled to reside. For some have four and six and many fourteen days and more to travel from their cattle stations to this place; this they do but seldom, perhaps not above once a year when they come to the Cape to lay in their supplies.' Apr. 23, 1726.

² *Ibid.* And compare the following: 'Besides—cattle being very scarce among the Hottentots we cannot expect much good on the side of the Bosjesmans who, as well as the first mentioned rogues, will doubtless deem the time of drill the best opportunity for executing their evil intention.'

³ Roux, *op. cit.*

⁴ Moodie, *Afschriften*.

be described as the home of the Bushmen became incessant. And the frontier farmers, more dispersed and isolated than ever, and therefore less able to deal with a menace that had become really formidable, were obliged to resort to a co-operative effort on a large scale in order to deal with the crisis. The result was the elaborately organized campaign of 1774 in which the whole of the northern frontier from the Camdeboo to the Oliphants River was involved. The number of field corporals, which was four in 1759, had by this time increased to thirteen,¹ and for the first time a burgher officer with the rank of field commandant was appointed to take general charge of the operations. The list of the field corporals together with the districts for which they were responsible is an impressive one and brings out, as clearly as any other fact, the extent of the Bushman menace at this period. The names on the roll are as follows:

'David Schalk van der Merve, in the Camdeboo country; Adriaan van Jaarsveld, upon the Sneeuwbergen; Charel Marais, along the foot of the Sneeuwbergen; Jacob de Clercq, in the Nieuweveld beyond the Coup; Nicholas van der Merwe, in the Bokkeveld beyond the Witsenberg; Pieter Jacobsz, beyond the Hex River; Gerrit Putter, in the Klyne Roggeveld; Hendrik Olivier, in the Middel Roggeveld; Gerrit van Wyk, in the Bokkeveld over the Doorn Rivier and the Hantam; Willem Steenkamp, in the Grootte Roggeveld; Lucas Steenkamp, on the lower part of the Oliphants River; Johannes Arnoldus Botma, beyond the Picquet Bergen; and Willem Burger, upon the Oliphants Rivier beyond Piqueniers Kloof.'²

The force, which totalled 250 men, of whom 100 were Europeans or 'Christians' and 150 Bastard Hottentots, took the field divided into three separate commandos so as to sweep as wide an area as possible. Although the commandos had been generously supplied with ammunition as well as with instructions by the authorities,³ the results that had been anticipated were not realized. The Bushmen were neither intimidated nor dispersed and the casualties inflicted were disappointingly small. From this time on, the northern frontier remained in a state of chronic border warfare and the Bushman became a sort of 'public enemy (No. 1)' to be shot at sight and out of existence. No further attempt was ever made to

¹ P. E. Roux, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 26. Copy of a letter from the Combined Boards of Landdrost and Heemraden, and Landdrost and Militia Officers, Stellenbosch, to Governor van Plettenburg and Council.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 28-30. Instructions according to which the newly appointed Field Commandant Godlieb Rudolph Opperman shall have to regulate his conduct upon the Expedition about to attack the Bosjesmans Hottentots who still continue to commit murder and robbery, Apr. 19, 1774.

repeat the ambitious performance of 1774, but small commandos that could be rapidly assembled were constantly on the war-path in pursuit of some plundering horde of Bushmen.

Under these circumstances, there could be no question of exercising any kind of official control over the activities of individual commandos. In any case, the decline of the Company's authority over the frontier districts that were most exposed to the attacks of the Bushmen was very nearly complete by this time. 'The official policy itself had become one of 'extirpation of the said rapacious tribes';¹ and there could be no more effective instrument in the service of that policy than a commando of aggrieved frontier farmers. The exploits of some of these commandos have been preserved in the official reports forwarded by the field corporals and field sergeants in command.² They show plainly enough that the task of extirpation was undertaken as a matter of course by those concerned, while the success of a commando was measured in terms of the number of Bushmen who had fallen victims to the slugs of the commando's guns.³

The attitude of the farmers who took an active part in this border warfare can only be compared with that of men who were engaged in dealing with some pest that would make life intolerable unless it could be got rid of. The Bushmen were considered to be so utterly beyond even the pale of humanity that they were looked upon as some kind of noxious wild beast, and like wild beasts they were exterminated.⁴ In the performance of this service the frontier farmers were firmly convinced of the righteousness of their cause since the Lord God was undoubtedly on their side.

'So I went with this small party of 12 men on the 3rd . . . and thence to Tavel Berg, where on the 10th I found such an assemblage of robbers, that we had not the courage to attack them; but reflecting that we have the promise in our favour, that they have the threats against them, and that the Lord does what seems good in his eyes, we advanced upon them and they were put to flight by the powerful hand of the Ruler of heaven and earth, and 17 of them killed there. From the smallness of my party we could not surround them, so they escaped from me. I found there

¹ Ibid., p. 80, Letter from the Governor and Council to the Landdrost, Heemraden and Militia Officers of the District of Stellenbosch, Mar. 25, 1779.

² Compare, especially, the report of Field Corporal Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Sneeuwberg, to Commandant G. R. Opperman, Sept. 4, 1775, and the stratagem by means of which he slew 122 of the 'banditti'. Moodie, *op. cit.*, pt. III, pp. 43-6.

³ Ibid., pp. 53-4, Report of Adriaan van Jaarsveld, Mar. 18, 1776: 'With all this we have only shot 23 Bushmen, with three successive commandos, thus the commandos according to the times, are now in vain'. Compare the report of Field Sergeant A. M. van den Berg, Apr. 10, 1776 (*ibid.*, p. 68). For execution among the Bushmen by the farmers' guns, see Sparrman, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 143.

⁴ Compare Sparrman, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 198.

great numbers of hides and skins of cattle and sheep, of which the flesh had been eaten.'¹

¹ Moodie, *op. cit.*, pt. iii, p. 82, Report of the Field Sergeant D. S. van der Merwe to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Sept. 3, 1779. Compare also the very revealing case of the more than usually pious Corporal Andries P. Burger, who in a letter full of Biblical allusions (Old Testament), appeals to Field Sergeant van der Merwe 'so do not turn away from us, but come and help to defeat the great kraal, and let us be strong and fight in the name of the Lord our God', Dec. 30, 1776 (*ibid.*, p. 62).

VII

THE PSYCHO-SOCIAL SITUATION

1. *Frontier Society*

THE conditions under which frontier society took shape during the eighteenth century—its isolation due to the long distances and difficulties of communication, the dispersion of its members, the lack of any kind of social centre such as a village or a church or a market—tended to enhance or develop certain characteristics which distinguish a frontier society as such. The existing forms of social organization are strengthened or new forms are developed to provide for the cohesion and survival of the group. In such a society, for example, the family plays a much more prominent part in social organization, for it is obliged to become a much more self-contained and independent unit than in societies with a great complexity of social organization. The family tends to assume a more patriarchal form since all authority over, and responsibility for, its members are vested in the father and, hence, a greater respect is paid to his age and position. The sons have no kind of independent status in the community until they have set up households of their own, while the daughters only leave home in order to get married. An unmarried adult, man or woman, is regarded as a kind of freak or 'sport'. The patriarchal father with his numerous sons and daughters, with his dependants, male and female, with his flocks and herds, appears to be more of a Biblical than a frontier figure, but, where conditions were favourable, he did come to life on the frontier in a very real sense.¹ Family ties and family sentiments were strongly developed and the ramifications of family relationships were very widespread. One of the few occasions that provided the opportunity for social gatherings on a large scale was the family reunion, when members and relations of the same family would gather together for the celebration of a birthday or a wedding anniversary.² Even when actual blood relationships did not exist, the attitudes of individual members of the society to one another were modelled upon those

¹ Compare Lichtenstein's description of Rhenosterfontein, 'one of the highest habitations among the Snow Mountains', belonging to a certain Barend Burger. After a glowing account of the place, Lichtenstein concludes: 'Indeed, everything here renounced us strongly of the patriarchal mode of life' (op. cit., vol. II, p. 23). And compare the figure of the patriarch Uys of a later day.

² 'Toen het echtpaar kort geleden de gouden bruiloft vierde, had men alleen de naaste bloedverwanten—genodigd, toch varen er toen 170 van der Merwes byeen' (Godec-Molsbergen, *Reizen*, vol. IV, p. 219).

of the family pattern and so served to increase the feeling of social solidarity within the group.¹

In a frontier society, relatively isolated and therefore free, to a large extent, from external authority, there is a strong tendency towards the development of individualism. Where all are equal and every one as good as his neighbour, the individual becomes unwilling to defer to any kind of authority. Such authority, in fact, comes to be regarded as a tyranny and its representatives as oppressors. For years the frontier farmer had been left to his own devices to work out his own salvation; for the Company had neither the means nor the inclination either to control its subjects or to provide them with those services which are among the conditions of a more advanced society. In many places on the frontier the Company's authority was not so much defied as simply ignored, since no means existed of making it felt.² During these years the frontier farmer, in learning to fend for himself, had also learned to follow his own inclinations and to tolerate no interference with his own wishes. In relation to those who occupied the same status as himself, this led often enough to bickering and a general atmosphere of contentiousness,³ while in relation to those who were inferior in status, it found expression in the arbitrary imposition of his personal will. The frontier farmer, above all things, lacked discipline, and much of the unruliness of frontier life sprang from an exaggerated individualism, an insistence upon rights at the expense of obligations, that was anti-social in its tendencies.⁴ Although there was a very genuine equality among those who belonged together and although on that plane no man regarded himself as the superior of another, this democratic spirit did not make the individual any more inclined to submit to authority, even when it emanated from his own group, unless it happened to coincide with his own views.

The frontier farmers may be compared with the aristocracy of a rude society. Accustomed from early childhood to lord it over those who, as non-Christians, were excluded from their order,

¹ Compare the widespread use of the forms of address, *oom*, *tante*, *neef*, *meeste*, by persons who were in no way related to one another.

² Moodie, *op. cit.*, pt. III, p. 6, Proclamation, Apr. 26, 1770.

³ See Janssens, *Journal, Belang. Hist. Dok.*, vol. III, p. 240.

⁴ Compare the following: 'Alzo dat men met groot leetwezen bevinde dat onze rootsugtige vanden [the Bushmen] velt winnende—al 't welke men klaarlyk toeschryven kan, aan den verdeelheyt en 't ongehoorsamen aan goede ordere in commandos, 't welk door alle gezogte voorvendsels verbroken werde, en zig verlate dat den ongehoorsamenheyt veler tot nog, ook niet ten dele zyn gestalt geworden, zo dat men geen kans sien 't velt langer in ordere te kunnen houden' (Memorie van A. J. van Jaarsveld en David S. van der Merwe, Veld-commandants, Graaff-Reinet, Apr. 1, 1783, C-280, 85).

there was always the tendency on the part of individuals to abuse their privileged position at the expense of those who were not of their own group or who were unable to defend their own claims for consideration.¹ Since there was no authority to speak of that could punish such abuses or enforce justice on behalf of all, this tendency, when unchecked, could have the most unfortunate consequences for others. In other words, it could, and did, lead in the case of individuals to sheer ill treatment and cruelty. The general run of frontier farmer had a mind that, as a result partly of his type of religion, was narrow, hard, and intolerant, especially in its dealings with those who fell outside the pale of that religion. If we add to such a mentality a cast-iron race prejudice that was inflexible to a degree, we are able to appreciate the relevance of the following judgement, which provides *a posteriori* evidence for a good deal of what has just been said in this and the preceding paragraphs. Lichtenstein, who had fairly ample opportunities of observation at first hand and who can hardly be accused of undue bias against the frontier farmers, commits himself to the following generalization about the inhabitants of Graaff-Reinet, a very typical frontier district:

'The total seclusion of the colonists from general intercourse with the world, and with civilized life, their confinement to the little circle of their own families, the easy manner in which the first necessities of our nature are satisfied, are very disadvantageous to them under many points of view; notwithstanding their simplicity of manners, their general purity of morals, and their ignorance of many of the greater crimes to which the European nations are subject, they appear, in the aggregate, even to impartial observers, much rather under an unfavourable than under a favourable point of view. Selfishness, lawlessness, hardness, intolerance, and a thirst for revenge, are the reigning vices in their character, which will perhaps hardly be thought atoned for by a disposition to be easily satisfied, by a spirit of economy yet united with unbounded hospitality, a firm adherence to truth, and a great respect for religion. But what is most to be deprecated in the character of some among them, is the harshness with which they treat their slaves and Hottentots, and in others, the bitterness and irreconcilable animosity with which they carry on their differences with one another.'²

Frontier society is a predominantly masculine society, not merely because the men, as a rule, outnumber the women, but also because the activities and attitudes usually associated with men are at a premium. Women are less prominent because they play their role

¹ See Captain R. Percival, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

² Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 463-4. The district of Graaff-Reinet was formed in 1785 and a church established in 1792. As the eastern district of the colony, it had suffered severely from Kaffir inroads and had been for several years in a state of more or less complete chaos. L.'s visit took place in 1804.

in the background rather than in the foreground of frontier life. An occasional exploit by a woman may bring her into the limelight, but we hear little of the activities of women and still less of what they thought and felt.¹ The marriage of both sexes took place at a very early age, so that the bearing and rearing of numerous children was the main preoccupation of a married woman. According to Sparrman,

'it is by activity and manly actions, and by other qualities that render a man fit for the married state, and the rearing of a family, that the youth chiefly obtain the esteem of the fair sex; none of whom likewise was ever known, for the sake of vying with each other in point of dress, to have endangered either their husband's property or their own virtue. A plain close cap, and a coarse cotton gown, virtue and good housewifery, are looked upon by the fair sex as sufficient ornaments for their persons.'²

The extreme monotony and loneliness of the lives of many of the women and the trying conditions under which they lived may have had something to do with the prevalence of hysterical disorders among them upon which Lichtenstein comments.³ We occasionally find references to two or three families living together—a practice that may have been encouraged by the desire on the part of the women for company. After the never-to-be forgotten journey to the Cape in order to get married, frontier life closes in on the frontier woman, who remains a vague though substantial figure. That the women of the frontier could play an active part, that they could intervene vigorously, and with decisive effect, at a critical moment in a public affair, that they had immense qualities of courage, tenacity, and self-sacrifice, that they felt as strongly as their men on matters that affected the common interest, we know from the part played by them in the history of the next generation. At this stage, therefore, although their role may have been less conspicuous, their influence, through the medium of social approval and disapproval, must have been not less powerful.

2. *Frontier Life*

Generalizations that profess to apply over a wide area in which there is a great diversity of local conditions may be useful as orientations, but are often very misleading as a way of describing the facts. This is true particularly where so much of the direct evidence available is derived from the writings of travellers who

¹ Compare an interesting account by Sparrman of a conversation with 'a friendly female' in *Agter Bruintjes Hoogte*, op. cit., vol. ii, pp. 168-9.

² Sparrman, op. cit., pp. 167-8.

³ Lichtenstein, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 109-10. L. was an M.D. and his advice and remedies were often in great demand.

paid flying visits to the frontier districts and whose observations were coloured by a background of experience very different from that of the people with whom they came into contact or whose conditions of life they described.¹ Under such circumstances there is always the tendency to pay special attention to the unusual or striking, but superficial, aspects, while neglecting or overlooking the realities of the situation. If we bear in mind these qualifications of the value of some of the evidence, we may make use of it for the purpose of reconstructing certain aspects of frontier life.

One of the first travellers to leave a record of a fairly comprehensive tour of the frontier districts was Hendrik Swellengrebel, son of Governor Swellengrebel (1739-51). The journey was undertaken in order to investigate on the spot the social and economic conditions of frontier life. In September 1776 Swellengrebel was in the Camdeboo district and gives the following description of a frontier habitat and its domestic arrangements:

'Schoon zy hier op zyn hoogst 4 à 5 Schoften van de houtbosschen afwonen, en dus goede huizen konden hebben, bestaat de woning hier uit eene muur van klei, 3 à 4 voeten hoog opgetrokken, daarboven een dak van riet, geen verdeeling van kamers, zonder schoorsteen, trekkende de rook door een gat in 't dak; een deur van fluitjes-riet met een touw vastgebonden, een vierkant gat tot een vengster. De bedsteden van elkaar gescheiden door een Hottentots-matje, dus de bedlegering vry gezellig is! de vloer van klei gemengd met mest; hierop staat alles onder een; boter, karn, vers geslagt vee, brood, etcetera, terwyle de hoenders, eenden, jonge varkentjes als in een menagerie onder een lopen, ja zelfs de duiven tegen het dak nestelen. De huisraad is naar proportie; een klein tafeltje, of by gebrek van dit een houte kist, 3 à 4 veldstoeltjes, welkens zittingen zyn van huiden, enz. In deze schuren, die kwalyk 40 voeten lang en 15 breed waren, hielden op sommige plaatsen twee tot drie huisgezinnen met hunne kinderen huis. De zindelykheid was er dus niet groot. Het geringe vertier der production doet de activiteit in deze lieden, die bovendien reeds zeer veel houden van jongs af in 't veld op de jagt te leven, hoe langer hoe meer verminderen en het is te voorzien, dat *dit nog eene geheel verwilderde natie zal worden*. Ik heb maar twee huizen gevonden, die ordentlyk opgebouwd waren en daar het zindelyk doch vry verre van weelde was. Men ziet hier byna geene slaven. . . . de Hottentotten dienen om vee en maken de menage niet brillanter maar wel nog stinkender.'²

¹ Compare Lichtenstein's confession as the result of closer experience, after having lived for some time as the guest of a frontier farmer, one van der Westhuizen by name, at the foot of the Roggeveld mountains: 'Many features in the character of these Africans, both censurable and commendable, were now first known to me; and I was enabled to correct many errors into which I had fallen with respect to them' (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 444).

² Journal of Hendrik Swellengrebel, extracts of which are reproduced in *Suid-Afrika*, Sept. 1932, No. 9, pp. 131-7. [Tr.: 'Although at this place they live only 4 to 5 "stages" from the forests, and consequently could have good

In the account of the official tour of Governor van Plettenberg, whose journey in the following year took him farther afield, the conditions in the Sneeuwberg on the remote northern frontier are described in very similar terms.¹ The wealthiest, as measured in terms of cattle and sheep, as well as the most poverty-stricken of the farmers were content to live under these conditions, since the barrenness of many parts of the country and the constant change of locality for the sake of pasturage did not encourage any efforts at permanent improvement.² By way of contrast we may compare the following description, given by Sparrman, of the idyllic life led by the colonists who had only recently occupied that part of the country known as Agter Brintjes Hoogte, on the extreme eastern frontier, a district which was to acquire, not many years

houses, the dwelling here consists of a wall of clay, raised to a height of 3 to 4 feet, surmounted by a roof of thatch, with no division into rooms, without a chimney, the smoke finding its way through a hole in the roof; a door of slender reeds secured by a rope, a square hole as a window. The beds [are] separated by grass mats, hence the sleeping arrangement is fairly sociable! the floor consists of clay mixed with cow dung on which everything is placed at random: butter, churned milk, freshly slaughtered meat, bread, &c., while hens, ducks, young pigs wander around as if in a menagerie, and even the doves build their nests in the roof.

'The furniture is in keeping; a small table or, failing that, a wooden box, 3 or 4 camp stools with seats of hide. In these sheds which are scarcely 40 feet long and 15 feet broad, two to three families with their children were sometimes found living together. Hence the standard of cleanliness is not very high. The very limited exchange of products is causing a steady decline in the enterprise of these people, who moreover from an early age love to live in the veld by hunting, and it is to be anticipated that they will become completely barbarized. [Original not italicized.] I have found only two houses that were decently erected and where there was some degree of cleanliness though far from a state of luxury. Hardly any slaves are to be seen here—the Hottentots work for cattle and do not add any brilliance to the menage, but rather make it more malodorous.' See also Godec-Molsbergen, *Reizen in Zuid Afrika*, vol. iv.

¹ Reis van den Gouverneur Joachims van Plettenberg, *Belang. Hist. Dok.* vols. 1-11, p. 12. Of the farmers in this same district, writing nearly twenty-five years later, Barrow says: 'The boors of Sneeuwberg appear in general to be a better description of men than those who inhabit the sea-coast. They are a peaceable, obliging and orderly people; a brave and hardy race of men. The constant danger to which their persons and their property are exposed will less admit a life of idleness and inactivity; and it is not in the men alone that this dangerous situation has called forth the active powers, but the women also evidently possess more animation and lead a less sedentary and listless life, than those of the frontier divisions' (*Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, vol. 1, p. 205). A significant passage from a man who was undoubtedly prejudiced against the frontier farmers or *boors* as such; and a striking illustration of Toynbee's theory of challenge-and-response where the challenge is on the borderline between the physical and the human sphere (op. cit., vol. ii, esp. pp. 309-13).

² 'Het is zonderling te zien, wanneer iemand een talryke kudde zo runderen als schaapen heeft, zulk een welgezeeten man dan met zyn familie in een rampzalige hut van riet woond, en zy dus allerbekrompenst moet behelpen, evenwel zyn deze heden aan dit trekkend leeven (dat zy jaarlyks om de weide moeten doen) zodanig gewoon, dat zy daarin geen gemissen of last vinden' (*Journal—eener landreyse*,—door den gouverneur—J. W. Janssens—gedaan, Godec-Molsbergen, *Reizen*, vol. iv, p. 103).

later, a widespread reputation on account of the turbulence of its inhabitants. However, when Sparrman visited it in 1776, it had, as yet, no history. The

'splendour of this delightful scene . . . was not a little augmented by a purling stream, viz. Little *Visch River*, which winds through this spot in sportive meanders. On its banks, besides cornfields, were seen scattered up and down pleasure and kitchen gardens recently laid out, and some of them cut through with drains: plantations, which though they were as yet inconsiderable, seemed, however, to promise everything to time and industry. The houses, far from intimidating the traveller by their splendid appearance, with the constrained pomp of ante-chambers and drawing-rooms, were rather in the style of plain and simple cottages; but, on the other hand, were environed with the animated embellishments of sheep and cattle, and inhabited by people in easy circumstances; who, not with interested views, but with open arms received me and my companion, just arrived from the dreary and inhospitable desert, and charmed us with their kind and friendly behaviour.'¹

The domestics of the household and those engaged in herding the cattle and sheep of the stock farmer were for the most part Hottentots and Bastard Hottentots, with an occasional Bushman woman or child, but with hardly any slaves.² The children of the family were handed over at a tender age to the care of the female domestics.³ These dependants, both male and female, though not slaves, could hardly be described as free agents. Their wages were paid, not in money, but in kind—they were fed, they were given cast-off clothing, or received payment in live stock for the year's service. They were almost completely at the mercy of the farmer for whom they worked, since if he withheld their wages they had no means of enforcing payment, if they were ill-treated they had no means of securing redress, if they left his service they were treated as runaways.⁴ Any member of this class who was not in the service of some European or in a position of some independence was, in fact, regarded with suspicion and hostility. According to frontier sentiment, the natural role of the non-Christian who was not either a Bushman or a Kaffir was to labour for the European, to be at the beck and call of any Christian who required his services.

The easy-going life of the stock farmer, under favourable

¹ Sparrman, op. cit., vol. II, p. 163. The section in which Sparrman describes at length the life at Bruintjes Hoogte, where he stayed for the whole of January, 1776, should be compared with Lichtenstein's description of the inhabitants twenty-five years later (op. cit., ch. 24).

² 'Men vindt in deze Bokkenvelden reeds weinig slaven, maar zeer vele Hottentotten die de boeren om vee dienen' (Swellengrebel, op. cit.).

³ Journaal, Janssens, op. cit., p. 190; also, Sparrman et alii.

⁴ See *Belang. Hist. Dok.*, vol. III, Brieven van Gov. Janssens.

circumstances, left him with ample spare time.¹ Some became frankly indolent but, for most, the chase provided opportunities of physical activity, exercise, and excitement of which full advantage was taken.² In addition, there were the constant commandos against the Bushmen on the northern frontier. The names of the veld-commandants, the van Jaarsvelds, the van der Merwes, the van der Walts, the van Rensburgs, which were to become so familiar in the fighting against the Kaffirs, were all of men who had acquired their reputations in the incessant warfare with the Bushmen.³

3. *Frontier Slums and Border Ruffians*

The conditions of frontier life provide, in some respects, more opportunities for the individual to throw aside what are usually described as the restraints of civilized life than are available in an environment where conditions are more settled and life itself more conventional. But the freedom of frontier life which for many individuals constitutes its main attraction may lead to a degeneration which is the result of following the path of least resistance. Where the social standards of life are less exacting there may be in the end no standards at all for controlling the behaviour of the individual. Such a permanent reversion to a lower or less civilized level, either on the part of individuals or even on the part of whole groups, is a common feature of frontier life; and it would be, indeed, a remarkable phenomenon if the frontier life in South Africa during the eighteenth century were to prove an exception to the rule.⁴

That this pathological tendency was so little in evidence in the frontier society of that time may be ascribed, among other reasons, to the fact that it was a genuine society bound together by a common attitude and outlook which, though not yet as clearly

¹ 'On our entering into conversation with them, our voluptuous corn-boor and his beautiful spouse informed us that they had just been to pay a visit to their relations at Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, where, having experienced for the space of six months the sweets of the ease and convenience attending a pastoral life, when compared with the drudgery of that of husbandman and vine dresser, they had given up all thought of their former business, so that they intended to sell their vineyard and cornfarm near the Cape, and look out for some spot in these parts, proper for carrying on the grazing business' (Sparman, *op. cit.*, p. 250).

² 'Vallen de Colonisten, die naderby en aan de Hoofdplaats, in 't gemeen niet zeer werkzaam; deze verafgelegen zyn het veel minder; zy dragen volkomen het karakter van veehouders en jagers.' Swellengrebel, *op. cit.*; also, Sparman, Lichtenstein, et alii.

³ Compare the record of Commandant Nel on another part of the frontier, who had been on thirty commandos against the Bushmen in thirty-two years. G. Thompson, *Travels . . . in Southern Africa* (1827), p. 220.

⁴ For certain comparable aspects of frontier life elsewhere, see F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-6.

defined as they were to be in a later and more self-conscious generation, were nevertheless real enough to control the behaviour of its members. And in this context, the role and influence of the women, as in all such societies, must have played an important part in resisting any appearance, on a large scale, of a disintegrating tendency. On the social outskirts, however, of every society individuals are always to be found who, for various reasons, have fallen below the accepted standards of their society. Such cases appear particularly alarming in a frontier society, since, under the circumstances, they seem to point more directly at the fate which, sooner or later, will overtake the whole society than they do when they occur in a more established society.¹

While the expansion on the frontier was still in its early stages, we find cases of Europeans who, in their contacts with the native inhabitants on the frontier, simply reverted to the level of those with whom they came into contact. As an illustration we may take the case of a so-called trading expedition or *toegt*, consisting of ten Europeans which, in 1738, paid a visit to the Little Namaqua and the Great Namaqua Hottentots. Such expeditions were strictly forbidden by law, for not only did they interfere with the Company's cattle trade but they very frequently led to violence and even bloodshed; and this expedition was no exception to the rule. The only striking feature about it is the detailed description by eyewitnesses of the conduct of its members, in which the following passage occurs:

'dat sy vervolgens in geselschap van eenige andere kleyne namaquas Hottentots voortgetrocken zyn, na de groot namaquas, en sig ter needer hebben geslaagen by d'Corael van den Cap. van die natie, met denwelken zy inmiddels nog by hun gekregen hebbende, den burger Pieter de Bruyn, die uyt was geweest om Elephanten te schietten, sig omtrent een maand lang in d'Ruiling van vee hebben besig gehouden, en dat inmiddels den Landbouwer Willem Wyk na den hottentotten wyse een nabestaande van gemelten Cap. der groote namaquas getrouwd, en sig by dat geval in alles als een hottentot gedraagen en gekleet heeft.'²

When these trading expeditions were succeeded later in the century by the advance of the stock farmers to the north beyond the

¹ Compare *Annotatien en Remarques* by J. W. Cloppenburg in which he speaks of the 'totale Barbarismus' in store for frontier society.

² Cape Archives, Resolution, 1739, 31. [Tr.: 'that they subsequently in the company of some other Little Namaqua Hottentots proceeded further to the Great Namaquas and encamped at the kraal of the Captain of this nation where they were joined in the interval by the burgher Pieter de Bruyn, who had been out shooting elephants, that they were engaged for about a month in bartering cattle, and that in the meantime the agriculturist Willem Wyk married according to the Hottentot fashion a kinswoman of the said Captain of the Great Namaquas, and in every way behaved and clothed himself like a Hottentot']

Oliphants River, one of the results was the rise of a bastard population of Dutch-Hottentot origin which assumed fairly considerable proportions.¹

In 1768 the *secunde* J. W. Cloppenburg, who had undertaken a tour of inspection as far as Outeniqualand in the Swellendam district, presented a report in which he described the condition of the inhabitants in those parts, and made various suggestions for their improvement. This official was one of those who were seriously perturbed about the possible degradation of the frontier inhabitants. It is clear, from the preamble to his report, that his observations were all made with this idea in mind. But there was enough solid foundation of fact to have alarmed any one and not merely an official from head-quarters. In his report, Cloppenburg distinguishes between the inhabitants who lived near enough to remain in touch with their church, and those who lived farther afield:

'om dan wel te distingueren, diende men agt te geven, dat in den omtrek van 5, 6 en 7 uren rondsom onse Kerken niet alleen de fraayste lieden van gedrag woonen: maar ook meerendeels luden zyn, die de Vermogen hebben om haare Kinderen door een Schoolmeester te doen leeren, en vervolgens lidmaaten van de kerk te laaten worden maar al wie verder af is gaan woonen en wederom verder af, tot op 70, 80 ja 100 en meer uren olschoon uit die fraye generation van goede lieden voortgekomen, siet men hand over hand deselve slegter van gedrag en meer vreemd van eenigen Godsdienst, hoe genaamt, worden: . . . welker nakomelingen sonder tegenspraak den Heidenen sullen moeten egaal gesteld worden. Tot myn leetweesen moet ik hier een Voorbeeld by brengen, dat, wanneer ik in den Jaare 1768 myn groote landtogt deede, en op Swellendam was, aldaar twaalf volkomen manspersonen tot my riep, . . . en met haar verder in gesprek komende vroeg of zy en haare Vrouwen lidmaaten waren, by antwoord bleek dat onder het getal sig bevonden elf Africanen, waarvan 9 getrouwd, geen van alle in 't generaal nog haare Vrouwen lidmaaten waren.'²

¹ See Lichtenstem, op cit., vol. II, p. 303; also E. Fischer, *Die Rehobother Bastards*.

² Annotatien en Remarques, J. W. Cloppenburg, Cape Archives, 95. [Tr.: 'in order to distinguish properly, one ought to bear in mind that in the vicinity of 5, 6 and 7 hours round about our Churches live those who are not only themselves of exceptional conduct, but are also for the most part individuals who possess the means of enabling their children to be taught by a schoolmaster, and as a consequence to become church members. But all those who have settled farther and farther afield, at a distance of 70, 80 and even 100 or more hours, although they are descended from excellent stock, show a steady deterioration in their behaviour and an estrangement from any religion of whatever kind: . . . [so that] without a doubt their descendants will have to be placed on the same footing as the heathen. I must here to my regret illustrate by an example, for when, in the course of my lengthy journey in 1768, I was at Swellendam, I called twelve adult males to me, . . . and entering into further conversation with them, I inquired whether they or their wives were church members. From their answers it

A far worse state of affairs, however, was revealed at a later stage in the journey:

'Myn voorgenoemde Reys doende vond ik my in 't Houteniqua land by den Landbouwer Hendrik van der Wat een man zoo my voorkwam redelyk van Leven, en alsoo hy soo wel als de andere daar omstreeks liggende Landliedens sig met houtkappen op ordonnantie onderhoud, onderhield ik hem onder vier oogen over het gedrag en huishouding der 13 andere landbouwers van die Contery. Syn berigt bekrachtigde myn bewustheid, dat veeler huishouding seer slordig is, en waarvan die allerslegste zyn, dat van Ehrenkroon, en Hans Dietlof, waarvan de eersten met een Bastard huishoud, en de tweede met een Hottentottin, leverende dat van Frederik Zeelen een allerslegst gebroedsel uit, hebbende twee Swagers Smit genoemt . . . die selfs niet gedoopt zyn.'¹

The conditions of life on the more remote frontier were aggravated by the chaos prevailing towards the end of the century, more particularly on the eastern frontier, as the result of the Kaffir incursions across the Fish River. The number of doubtful characters in those parts was also greatly increased by the tendency of new-comers, deserters, and vagabonds of all kinds to make for the frontier districts. The successful defiance of the Company's government by the burghers of Swellendam and Graaff-Reinet had led to the collapse of all local authority which, in any case, had played a very minor part in the life of the frontier. Under these circumstances, disregard and contempt for any kind of law that might act as a deterrent on the individual's behaviour had become a fixed attitude of mind on the part of many of the inhabitants. The Governor, Janssens, who was seriously concerned about this state of affairs wrote that

'(het) vertragen der wetten is zoodanig een gewoonte, schoon zy onophoudelyk van de wensch na goede wetten en strenge handhaving spreken, dat een ieder byna zyne byzondere begrippen in alles volgd,

appeared that among the number were eleven Africans, whereof nine were married, and that none of them nor their wives were church members.'] The same author mentions that the younger generation 'huisgeseten op haar selfs willen worden aangesien den een den anderen niet wil dienen'.

¹ Cloppenburg, op. cit. [Tr.: 'Proceeding on my aforementioned journey, I found myself in Houteniqualand in the company of the agriculturist Hendrik van der Wat, who appeared to me to be a man of decent life, and as he as well as others in that neighbourhood maintained themselves as licensed woodcutters, I cross-questioned him freely about the behaviour and domestic life of the 13 other agriculturists in that district. His information confirmed my conviction that the domestic life of many was of a very slovenly kind, and that the worst cases were those of Ehrenkroon and Hans Dietlof, the former of whom lived with a Bastard woman and the latter with a female Hottentot, while the case of Frederik Zeelen revealed a worse mess, he having two brothers-in-law, named Smit . . . who were not even baptized.'] Sparrman's account of this area and of its inhabitants with whom he came into contact in 1775 agrees very closely with that of Cloppenburg (op. cit., vol. i, chap. 7).

en zeer verwonderd scheinen als hen de grootste verkragtingen van wetten onder het oog gebragt worden.¹

Ruffians like Coenraad Buys, Thomas Ferreira, Jan Rens, Frederik Bezuidenhout, and others² took full advantage of this state of lawlessness, while rival factions under leaders who were bitterly opposed to one another only made confusion worse confounded.³ The more sober and law-abiding farmers of the Sneeuwberg and the Camdeboo held aloof, but the inhabitants of Bruinjes Hoogte were in the thick of it all.

4. *Hottentots, Bastards, and Bushmen*

When Ensign Beutler, in 1752, having travelled some distance beyond the last outpost of European occupation on the frontier towards the East, fell in with a clan of Hottentots, he had an interesting conversation with them, the gist of which is included in his report as follows:

'Als men haar vraagt, waarom se om tenminsten iets te hebben en dus om honger niet te vergaan, het land niet bebouwen en besaayen geeven sy geen antwoord daarop dan dat se een ongelukkig volk syn en niets mogen hebben, dat van alles dat se souden mogen zaayen en planten niets soude opkomen, dat dit voor andere geluckige natien gelyk de Caffers en andere alleen gereserveert is, vraagt men haar verders waarom se dan niet by de Hollanders gaan dienen, by wien hun geen kost soude ontbreken, seggen se daar niets anders op dan dat se dat wel weten maar dat daar veel werk is, hiermeede bedecken sy hare luyghheid, die sodanig is dat se hever van honger willen vergaan als te werken.'⁴

Even among these Hottentots who had not already succumbed to the encroachments of the European, the will to live had evidently declined to such a degree as to make their impending fate inevit-

¹ *Belang Hist. Dok.*, vol. iii, p. 240. [Tr.: 'trampling upon the law has become so much a matter of habit, in spite of the fact that they constantly express a desire for good laws and their rigorous maintenance, that almost every one follows his own ideas in everything, and appears to be mightily astonished when the grossest violations of the law are brought to his attention.']

For details see Memorandum voor de Gouverneur Janssens over het karakter van niet name genoemde Boeren, Godee-Molsbergen, *Reizen*, vol. iv.

² For details see Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. 1, chaps. 2, 3, 4.

³ Reis van den Vaandrig Beutler, *Belang. Hist. Dok.* ii, p. 35. [Tr.: 'If one asks them why they do not, in order at least to have something and so not to perish of hunger, cultivate and sow the land, they vouchsafe no other reply than that they are an unfortunate people and may not possess anything, again that of everything that they might sow or plant nothing would come of it, that it is only reserved for fortunate peoples such as the Caffers and others. If one asks them further why they do not go and serve the Hollanders, with whom they would not lack food, they give no other reply than that they are well aware of it, but that it is too much work, by which [answer] they would fain cover up their own laziness, which is such that they would rather perish of hunger than work.']

able.¹ Everywhere the members of this race had either sunk to the level of complete subservience to the European or were being reduced to that level by the deprivation of their cattle.²

The mixture of force and fraud that was used in this process of deprivation is well illustrated by a report from the landdrost of Stellenbosch, who gives the following account of the process at work:

'In delivering the quarterly account of the Co.'s live stock, I take the liberty to state with respect to this year's barter with the Hottentots, that it has been very insignificant, and far less than usual. . . . The journey was, however, in vain, for according to the report of the Corporal Modeman, the Hottentots there [in the Bokke- and Rogge-veld] have scarce any cattle, and complained to him that the Europeans who have farms there deprive them of their cattle under all kinds of pretexts, and by daily barterings. As happened recently, when one G. Opperman and J. de Jager had a public bartering, the latter availing himself of the device of dressing a European, named Jan Martins, whom he or someone else had employed as a servant, in good clothes, a hat with a cockade, and a hanger at his side—telling the Hottentots that this pretended Corporal was sent on the Co.'s account by the Governor, and that they must refuse nothing he demands. Nay, he has gone further to mislead this simple people, he has served this disguised fellow with drink and a pipe.'³

'The victims of this kind of exploitation had evidently learned to make a distinction between the representatives of 'Jan Compagnie', from whom they could expect to receive some kind of fair treatment, and private individuals with whom they tried to have as little to do as possible.⁴ But, under the circumstances, the protection which the Company was able to afford them was of the feeblest. By the end of the century, only a few surviving kraals, containing the last remnants of those Hottentots who still retained some semblance of their former mode of life, were to be found existing precariously here and there on sites, especially along the coastal belt, from which they had not yet been evicted by the European.⁵

In the 26th article of General Janssens's ordinance for the coun-

¹ Compare *The Clash of Cultures and the Contact of Races*, by G. R. L. F. Pitt-Rivers, in which the influence of this factor, and the part it plays in race contacts, is fully worked out. Capt. Percival, op. cit., p. 83, though he gives a different reason, speaks of 'that indifference to marriage and the propagation of children, for which this race of people is distinguished'.

² As a pastoral people, the Hottentots, deprived of their cattle, could only succumb. Compare the robust attitude of the cattle-owning clans in their contacts with the first Europeans. See above, pp. 24-5.

³ Moodie, *Afschriften*, Landdrost to Governor, Nov. 21, 1757.

⁴ Ibid., Landdrost of Swellendam to Governor, transmitting defence of Corporal in charge of Co.'s post at Buffeljagt's River, May 3, 1763.

⁵ Ibid., Feb. 22, 1769; also, Sparrman, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 179 and 241.

try districts, it is declared that the aborigines of the country, the Hottentots, must be considered and treated as a people who have a lawful right of residence in the colony, and who must, therefore, as all other free people, be protected in their persons, property, and possessions.¹ Such a declaration, needless to say, flatly contradicted the public opinion of the country districts, according to which the Hottentots were neither a free people nor entitled to any protection either in their persons, property, or possessions, but a form of cheap and docile labour at the disposal of the farmer, whose personal authority to treat them at will was to be final.² General Janssens, in the series of letters that he wrote to Commissioner de Mist during his tour of the frontier districts, reverts again and again to the conditions and treatment of the hapless Hottentots.³ The suggestions which he submitted as a remedy for the prevailing state of affairs provide all the commentary that is necessary on the abuses to which the Hottentots in the service of the farmers were exposed at the hands of individuals.⁴

The Bastards, or Bastard Hottentots, especially those who could lay claim to white blood,⁵ regarded themselves as a class who were very much superior either to the aboriginal inhabitants or to the slaves. The designation 'Bastard' was not, as one might imagine, a term of abuse but one in which the owner took a proper pride, for it distinguished him from the despised Hottentots kinship which

¹ *Bepalingen en Instructie* (1805), ed. by G. W. Eybers, p. 88. The article in question reads: 'De oorspronklyke Inboorlingen des Lands, de Hottentotten, moeten aangemerkt en behandeld worden als vrye menschen, die een wetting verblift in de Volkplanting hebben, en behooren gevolgelyk in hunnen persoonen, eigendommen en bezittingen, even als andere vrye Lieden, te worden beschermd.'

² The local authorities themselves appear to have made use of the services of those Hottentots who were not employed by the farmers, in order to save expense. Thus, 'alle de zodanige onder deeze Colonie (of Stellenbosch) sorteerende Hottentotten als zig in Craalen ophoudende, niet voor het jaar by de Ingezetenen zullen hebben verhuurd,' were to be put to work to repair the damage caused by the Eerste River overflowing its banks at Stellenbosch (Resolutien, 15, 12, 1790, Cape Archives, C. 89). For the attitude of the Hottentot in the service of the farmer compare Lichtenstein: 'the Hottentot is a hired servant, and there is this great distinction between them and the slaves, that the former only address their master by the title of Baas (Master), while the slaves address him as Sieur (Lord). A Hottentot in consequence takes it extremely amiss if he is addressed by the words Pay or Jonge, as the slaves are; he expects to be called by his name if addressed by any one who knows it; and by those to whom it is not known he expects to be called Hottentot (which he pronounced Hotnot) or boy.' Vol. 1, footnote, p. 146.

³ *Belang. Hist. Dok.* III, pp. 216, 218, 219, 221, 243.

⁴ But compare the report of Colonel Collins, who speaks very highly of the 'humane way in which the farmers treat their servants, at least, in the districts that I have visited, where they are paid by a determined quantity of clothes, by food for themselves and their families, and a certain number of sheep and cattle annually' (Moondie, op. cit., pt. v; *Journal of a Tour in the North-Eastern Boundary*, &c., in 1809, p. 37).

⁵ These were the so-called Dutch Bastards (*ibid.*, pt. III, p. 83).

he was only too anxious to conceal.¹ Bastards, as a rule, remained unbaptized and for that reason alone could never hope to enter the charmed circle of the European or Christian community.² As a class, they were closely associated with that community without actually being accepted or regarded as part of it.³ In some respects they might be regarded as the nearest approach to that European labouring class which was lacking at the Cape. In the role of a superior and confidential type of servant, they could be relied upon in positions of trust and responsibility, such as taking charge during an owner's absence or acting as overseers on a loan farm.⁴ In the frontier districts one of their most important roles was the part they played in frontier fighting and defence. It was in this respect that they approached most closely to the status of the European, for they were allowed the use of horses and fire-arms which were the prerogative of the latter,⁵ a fact which shows the confidence placed in the Bastards as a kind of inferior European. They were expected to join in the expeditions against the Bushmen, since they were a valuable addition to the fighting strength of the commandos in that particular kind of warfare. We find frequent references in the reports of field commandants, field sergeants, and field corporals to Bastards and Hottentots who were enlisted for commando service. The increasing demands made upon them for this purpose, especially when many Europeans themselves were unwilling to serve or made use of them as substitutes, led in some parts to a general exodus in order to evade going on commando.⁶

The race which was to become so familiar to several generations

¹ Sparrman, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 52. For a later account, see Howison, *European Colonies*, vol. i, p. 238. Moodie himself, writing nearly a century ago (1838-41), still speaks of the 'distinction conferred by the name Bastaard'. The changes in name from 'Bastards' to 'Cape Coloured', and, tentatively, at the present time, to 'Eur-Africans' are themselves significant.

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³ There were bastards and bastards, and it certainly seems that the Dutch or European bastard of colour who might have no Hottentot blood at all ought to be distinguished, for example, from the bastard Hottentot of slave origin who might have no white blood. The position of this class was becoming more and more anomalous in a community growing steadily more colour-conscious. Thus: 'Zynde wyders billyck geacht, dat de gedoopt en andere Bastaart Hottentotten, dewelke eenige burger neering of handteering dryven—by een van hun te formeere *aparte* Lyst geenrolleerd en onder de verpligting gebiagt werden, om even die selfde lasten aan de Colonie op te brengen, als door andere Ingezetenen aldaar geschied' (Res. 20.11.1787, Cape Archives, C. 82). Original not italicized.

⁴ A loan farm, Stinkefontein, was actually granted to one Adam Kok, presumably a Bastard, in 1771 (Moodie, *Afschriften*).

⁵ For one of the first references to the military value of the 'bastard Hottentots', see Mentzel, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

⁶ Report of Field Sergeant A. van Zyl, Nov. 2, 1778; Moodie, *op. cit.*, pt. iii, p. 77.

of frontier farmers under the name of Bossiemans, Bosjesmans, or Bosjesman Hottentots, constituted the most serious obstacle to the occupation of the country on the northern frontier, where they were most numerous and aggressive. Over an extensive area, ranging from the Roggeveld to beyond the Sneeuwberg, a distance of more than 300 miles, an incessant border warfare was carried on that was finally ended only when the last Bushmen were either exterminated or expelled. By the frontier farmers who came into contact with the Bushmen under these circumstances, the whole race was regarded as sub-human, more akin to the baboon tribe with whom, indeed, they were believed to have more in common than with the human species as represented by the European himself.¹ The daring and ferocity of the Bushmen made them the dread of many a frontier farmer, for whom they became a kind of dangerous vermin to be shot at sight whenever a favourable opportunity presented itself. Bushmen and wild beasts were bracketed together and were dealt with by the same means. In his description of the farm 'Touwerfontein, in the Coup district of Graaff-Reinet, inhabited by a very kind and hospitable family, that of Jonathan Jacob van Aschwege', Lichtenstein concludes with the following account:

'the solitary situation of this place has, besides, this disadvantage, that it is with much more difficulty defended against the Bosjesmans and the wild beasts, both of whom are of course the more abundant in proportion as the country is destitute of other inhabitants. 'The neighbourhood of this farm is often the theatre of terrible strifes with the Bosjesmans: and van Aschwege related to me with great simplicity, as a matter of complete indifference, that at only a few hours' distance, lying out in the open fields, were the skeletons of some Bosjesmans, who had been shot a few years before by the owner of the place, as they were stealing some of his cattle.'²

In the eyes of those of the frontier farmers who suffered most from the constant depredations of these incorrigible 'banditti' the only good Bushman was a dead Bushman.³ That, in a sense, the

¹ Compare Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 281-2. Since the above was written, the writer has recently (July, 1936) had an opportunity of spending a fortnight in camp among a number of Bushmen in the Southern Kalahari Desert. These Bushmen, or rather their forebears, may have been pushed out of the country, south of the Orange River, known as Bushmanland. At any rate, they were quite familiar with the use of the term 'baboon' which is still applied to them by the Europeans and Bastards with whom they come into contact at the present time, and they made it quite clear that they deeply resented such an application.

² Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 25-6. Compare the experience of Barrow, who was told by a farmer whom he met at Graaff-Reinet, 'with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of four partridges', that 'he had only shot four of them (Bushman)' on his way (*op. cit.*, pp. 36-7).

³ An exception must be made in the case of the Bushmen children. The

Bushmen might claim to be the injured party and that their depredations were the inevitable reaction to the invasion of their country by the Europeans who were depriving them of their means of subsistence, was a point of view that would have seemed quite incredible to any frontier farmer who had just been deprived of his own means of livelihood by a Bushman raid. What particularly infuriated the farmers and made them utterly merciless in shooting down those whom they could overtake was the Bushman practice of maiming or slaughtering the stock which could not be driven off or which had to be abandoned when the pursuit became too hot. To a stock farmer this kind of behaviour must have appeared particularly atrocious. And if we add the strain upon the nerves of those who were exposed to the full fury of the Bushman tactics of constant raids, it is clear that the policy of extermination, as a solution of the Bushman problem, would have appeared to the majority of those concerned as the only possible policy under the circumstances.¹ Some idea of the straits to which the inhabitants of the Bushman frontier were reduced may be formed from the following extract of a letter, signed by nine inhabitants of the Sneeuwberg:

'Sir, The object of this my present letter to you is that the best means may be employed to secure our temporal peace that we may thus be preserved and restored. . . . Be pleased but once to consider the great assemblages of these heathenish evildoers, and we doubt not but your reflections will devise some means to assist us. So many thousands of Bushmen have united their inward anger and rapacity, and now oppress and injure us as they have never done before. . . . We, therefore, in this desperate condition have recourse to our superiors. Oh! that the Almighty and our government might be induced by our sighs and prayers to assist us with such a force, that through their wise counsel we may preserve our farms; for some of us are already flying to save our farms and what little we have left.'²

following occurs in an 'excuse brief' written by a farmer who had sent a Hottentot to take his place on commando. 'I have desired my Hottentot to catch a little one for me, and I beg that if he gets one, he may be allowed to keep it, and that you will see that the Hottentot has victuals. Dirk Koetsie' (Aug. 23, 1780, Moodie, op. cit., pt. iii, p. 104). And compare the report of Field Sergeant C. Marais, Sept. 2, 1779, which contains a list of so many Bushmen killed in various attacks, so many taken and the details of so many 'little Bushmen' divided among the men of the commando (ibid., pt. iii, p. 81).

¹ According to Adriaan van Jaarsveld, a notable Bushman hunter and fighter, the only policy was to issue instructions 'dusdanig dat een ieder in zy contry de Bosjesmans op de spoor te vervolg en dood te schieten'. Quoted by P. J. Venter, *Die Huisgenoot*, Mar. 2, 1934.

² Letter to Commandant Opperman, Mar. 18, 1776, Moodie, op. cit., pt. iii, p. 53. Compare also the letter dated Nov. 17, 1776, signed by twenty-five inhabitants of the same district, ibid., pp. 60-1. In this letter it is stated that Adriaan van Jaarsveld has 'removed to beyond De Bruyns Hoochte, which

Even after the edge of the first and most immediate menace of the Bushman attacks had been blunted, the attitude towards them remained, and the policy of extermination, inherited from a previous generation, persisted as an *idée fixe* in the minds of a later generation of frontier farmer.¹

There were some among the frontier farmers, however, who tried other methods of dealing with the Bushmen, when it was realized that a policy of violence only increased the virulence of their resistance. When General Janssens, in the course of his tour, paid a visit to the Bushmen in the neighbourhood of the Seacow River, he found the greatest friendliness existing between them and the colonists settled beyond the Sneeuwberg.

'The friendly intercourse was here carried so far, that the colonists, when they had anything to say to the Bosjesmans of the neighbourhood, or had little presents to make to them, could always collect them together only by lighting a fire upon one of the surrounding hills.'²

The veld-commandant, Johannes van der Walt, whose farm lay nearest to these Bushmen, had succeeded in winning their complete confidence.³ In the Little Roggeveld, and in the neighbour-

renders the inhabitants of Sneeuwberg very desperate, not knowing what to do, whether to remain or to remove, though many are of a mind to remove beyond de Bryns Hoogte, for the inhabitants there, as yet, live in a desirable state of peace, while we, on the contrary, must daily live in the greatest danger of our lives' Adriaan, originally of the Sneeuwberg, and later of Agter Bruintjes Hoogte, who must not be confused with Albertus van Jaarsveld of the Camdeboo, had actually by his removal fallen from the frying pan into the fire. The 'desirable state of peace' at Agter Bruintjes Hoogte was soon to be destroyed by the Kaffirs who had begun to cross the Fish River. In a letter to the Militia Court, Stellenbosch, dated Oct. 4, 1780, van Jaarsveld states that 'having purchased a farm in Camdeboo, I have given over the charge of my post (in Agter Bruintjes Hoogte) to Field Corporal Cornelis Botma, with exception of the Kaffirs', giving as one of his reasons that 'to continue longer with all these disorderly Field Sergeants can lead to nothing but disgrace. Nevertheless, should orders be issued respecting the arrangement with the Kaffirs, I feel myself bound to attend to them, according to the order, because I undertook to do so' (*ibid.*, p. 76). He was as good as his word, for in 1781, as commandant at the head of a commando of 92 Christians and 40 Hottentots, with guns, he was responsible for the first drastic expulsion of the Kaffirs from the colonial side of the Fish River. See his report, July 20, 1781, *ibid.*, pp. 110-12.

¹ An interesting illustration of the contrast between the frontier and the non-frontier points of view is given by the following quotation: 'It struck me as a strange and melancholy trait of human nature, that the Veld-Commandant [Nel], in many other points a meritorious, benevolent, and clear-sighted man, seemed to be perfectly unconscious that any part of his own proceedings, or those of his countrymen, in their wars with the Bushmen, could awaken my abhorrence' (G. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 220). Nel and his countrymen would, of course, have justified their proceedings on the ground that they were making the country fit for European occupation. Thompson wrote in 1827.

² Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 76-7; *Belang. Hist. Dok.* iii, p. 251.

³ 'The precarious subsistence of these poor people [Bushmen] reduces them sometimes to the utmost distress. About five or six years since the country was almost totally unprovided with the roots that compose their usual food, in

hood of the Zak River,¹ there also existed at one time some sort of understanding between the colonists and the Bushmen. These Bushmen who were on friendly terms with the farmers were known as *mak*, or 'tame', Bushmen to distinguish them from the 'wild', or 'Jakhals', Bushmen who took to flight immediately they caught sight of a European.

5. *Race Attitudes and Colour Prejudice*

The race attitudes which were characteristic of frontier society towards the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth century cannot be fully appreciated until they are brought into relation with the whole spirit and outlook of that society as outlined in the preceding sections. If we take into consideration the circumstances under which social development and race contacts took place on the frontier, then its race attitudes appear in a new light as one of the very foundations upon which the whole society rested. The existence of frontier society was, in a very real sense, bound up with these attitudes since they helped to provide it with those qualities of group unity, cohesion, and self-consciousness and those powers of resistance and persistence without which it could not have overcome its difficulties or maintained its integrity.

Under frontier conditions, every society is engaged in a more intense struggle either against the forces of nature or of man or of both than is usually the case with a more firmly established society; and the 'atmosphere of war' so engendered must affect, to a greater or less degree, the individual expression of attitude. In such an atmosphere the attitudes that are brought into play tend to assume extreme or exaggerated forms of expression as a means of coping with, and ending, the conflict. The insecurity, therefore, which infects the whole of frontier life only serves to strengthen the attitude in the individual, to stamp it in more firmly, as a means of defending the society against the threat from without. Hence we do not expect to find the operation of group attitudes, particularly race attitudes, qualified by other considerations and, least of all, by

consequence of the want of rain for several successive seasons. Many of them were then saved from perishing by the supplies of sheep and game which they received from the farmers. The family of van der Walt had removed to the neighbourhood of the Governor's baaken [the beacon set up by van Plettenberg near Colesberg] for a change of pasturage, and there supplied the Bosjesmen in the course of three months with 142 head of large game. They deserve the greatest credit for their kind treatment of that people' (Collins, op. cit., p. 3).

¹ For the Roggeveld, see Lichtenstein, op. cit., vol. 1, pp. 141 ff.; and for the Zak River neighbourhood, Rev. Mr. Kicherer, Narrative of his Mission to the Hottentots and Boschmen. It was a prominent farmer, Floris Fischer, who played the leading role in conciliation in the latter area.

any consideration for the opposing group. The absence of status relationships between groups, such as exist in an older society, will, under the unsettled conditions of frontier life, necessarily involve the dominant group, or group that seeks to dominate, in conflict with the other group or groups. Passive resistance, even if it merely takes the form of a failure to comply on the part of the latter, is sufficient to render more intolerant the attitudes of the dominant group, while hostile action or aggressiveness will make them more violent and embittered.

Since the race attitudes are only one element in a pattern of group attitudes, we find that all the social attitudes of the group, racial, religious, social, and political, come into play in a mutually supplementary way. In the inter-group conflict, therefore, in which race attitudes play the major part, no intra-group conflict between these attitudes and the other attitudes of the group can be tolerated, since such an internal conflict can only be a source of weakness. And of all the elements of the total attitude pattern of frontier society, race and religious attitudes were most closely and intimately associated with one another. The term 'Christian', which, in this context, meant, in the first place, that the individual to whom it applied had been accepted and was recognized as a member of a group professing a particular religion, was universally used as synonymous with the terms 'European' and 'white man'. The great importance attached to the profession of Christianity was very largely a persistence of the attitude brought by the first Europeans to the Cape. Generations of contact with non-Christian natives and heathen had only served to enhance that attitude and to give it a more vigorous exclusiveness.¹

Of all the elements in his social heritage, there was none to which the European of the frontier clung with greater fervour or which he prized so highly as his religion. Although he might have lost touch with the main stream of contemporary European culture, the frontier farmer still retained the peculiar tradition of his seventeenth-century European background in its original form. It was that tradition that played a fundamental part in determining his race attitudes and in making him race conscious, for membership

¹ Compare the following explicit formulation of the attitude a generation or two later, by Anna Steenkamp, sister of the famous Voortrekker leader, Piet Retief, in a letter to her relatives at the Cape, in which she gives two main reasons for the Great Trek. The second reason is stated in the following terms: 'the shameful and unjust proceedings with reference to the freedom of our slaves; and yet it is not then freedom that drove us to such lengths, as their being placed on an equal footing with Christians, contrary to the laws of God and the natural distinction of race and religion, so that it was intolerable for any decent Christian to bow down beneath such a yoke; wherefore we rather withdrew in order to preserve our doctrines in purity' (J. Bird, *Annals of Natal*, vol. 1, p. 459).

of his religious group was an exclusive privilege which distinguished and separated him by an immeasurable distance from those who did not share it with him. In the absence of any kind of opportunity for public worship, the religious exercises conducted by the head of the family took on an added significance, and even in the poorest or most remote household of the frontier, the Bible was to be found occupying the place of honour. Thus, in an account of the journey of Governor van Plettenberg, to the Sneeuwberg, we read that

'in deezen armoedigen toestand, vond men evenwel dat de Huysgezinnen voorzien waren van zodanige boeken, als hun, by gebrek van gelegenheid tot den openbaaren Godsdienst, verstrekten om dezelve in hunne Huysgezinnen met elkanderen te kunnen oeffenen: meest al waren zy zedig, redelyk wel onderleid en sterk verlangende na eenen Leeraar.'

To be able to write and to read the Bible comprised the extent of most frontier education. The family Bible as the centre of family worship and as the register that contained the records of the family births and deaths was an object of the strongest sentiments. But its symbolic value was even greater than these, since it was the outward and visible sign of that which was the most cherished possession of the group.²

For the frontier farmer, then, his religion was, first and foremost, a social fact—and a jealously guarded group-privilege. By virtue of his religion, he justified his right to dominate the heathen by whom he was surrounded. They fell outside the pale, and their claims, therefore, could never compete on equal terms with those of the Christian group. The idea that Christians and non-Christians were, in any sense, equal, even before the law, or that an offence by a Christian against the person or property of a non-Christian should be taken as seriously or be dealt with as vigorously as a similar offence by a non-Christian, was entirely foreign to frontier mentality.³ When the revolutionary doctrines of liberty,

¹ *Belang. Hist. Dok.* i-II, p. 12. [Tr.: 'in this poverty-stricken condition, it was found that the households were provided with such books as enabled them, in the absence of the opportunity for public worship, to carry out religious exercises among themselves in their own families; for the most part they were well behaved, reasonably well informed and strongly desirous of a minister of religion.']

² And compare the excitement and indignation among the inhabitants when the church building in the little village of Graaff-Reinet was used for quartering troops, English and *Hottentot*, during the First British Occupation (1795-1803).

³ Barrow's description of the farmer who had been flogged and put in irons by the British military authorities on the frontier for some misdemeanour to a non-Christian is illuminating. 'For the whole of the first night his lamentations were incessant; with a stentorian voice a thousand times he vociferated, "Myn God! is dat een maniere om Christian mensch te handelen"'. His, however, were not the agonies of bodily pain, but the burst of rage and resentment on

equality, and fraternity arrived on the frontier towards the end of the eighteenth century, they were warmly welcomed, not merely because they served to justify the repudiation of the Company's authority, but also because they were a genuine reflection of the democratic spirit of frontier society. But outside the closed circle of that society they abruptly ceased to have any validity—a limitation which, in view of the relations prevailing with those to whom these doctrines were not considered to apply, appeared as a paradox even to contemporary observers.¹ But, from the point of view of the frontier farmer, there was no real inconsistency in his attitude. In fact, to have taken up any other attitude would have been tantamount to undermining the whole foundation upon which his society rested. It would have been equivalent to an admission of defeat, the reversal of a tendency that had been steadily developing for generations. Under the circumstances in which he was placed and with the whole weight of his social heritage upon him, the frontier farmer was literally forced into adopting the attitude which he did towards those who fell outside his group. The inconsistency lay rather on the side of those who, failing to appreciate the total situation to which his attitude was the response, attempted to apply standards of social behaviour which would have made his continued existence on the frontier impossible.

The implications of the religious and social elements in the race attitudes of the frontier farmer are well illustrated by the manner in which all attempts at improving or regularizing the existing interracial relations were received. Since such attempts usually appeared as a threat against the principles of group privilege and of race inequality, they necessarily excited reactions of suspicion and hostility. The experiences of General Janssens, for example, were an indication, which was amply confirmed by subsequent history, of what lay in wait for similar attempts on the part of officials who would come after him.² An even worse reception, needless to say, awaited the efforts of the early missionaries who arrived on the frontier towards the end of the eighteenth century, since these men were actually trying to impart to the heathen the very special and exclusive possession which had hitherto marked off

being put on a level with one, as the boers call them, of the *Zwarte Natie* between whom and the Christian mensch they conceive the difference to be fully as great as between themselves and their cattle, and whom, indeed, they most commonly honor with the appellation of *Zwarte Vee*, black cattle' (op. cit., vol. i, p. 398). Even if we make the usual allowance for the author's animus, this account hits off the frontier frame of mind exactly.

¹ Memorandum voor de Gouverneur Janssens, Godee-Molsbergen. op. cit., vol. iv, p. 211.

² Compare his letters to de Mist, *Belang. Hist. Dok.* iii.

the group from all those by whom they were surrounded.¹ The comparative failure of these first missionary efforts was regarded as a proof that such people were not fitted for Christianity, while the actions of men like Vanderkemp and Read who married women of colour were an awful example of the social consequences that would follow from the breaking down of the religious barrier.²

The negative aspects of the Calvinistic creed, its doctrine of predestination, its emphasis upon the community of the elect, the exclusive twist that could be given to its teachings, were all perfectly adapted to the interracial situation of the frontier.³ The conclusion was readily drawn, and applied, that the heathen fell outside the scheme of salvation. Attempts to christianize them were not merely not sanctioned by, but actually contrary to, the

¹ The following extracts culled from an account of Dr. Vanderkemp's journey to Caffraland and of his early experiences on the frontier reveal some of the difficulties with which a missionary enthusiast of those days had to contend. His later career and some of his acts which made his name a by-word among the frontier farmers of the time become more intelligible when we bear in mind the effect which these initial experiences must have had upon such a man. 'Returning from a walk, Dr. V. found William Bruintje in a serious discourse with them [some Hottentots who had arrived at the camp]. One of them, whose name was Courage, asked brother Vanderkemp if it were not true that God had created them as well as the christians, and the beasts of the field; "for you know (said he) that the Dutch farmers teach us, that He never created us, nor taketh any notice of us!" Brother Vanderkemp then sat down, and explained to him man's equal misery, and the way to everlasting happiness through faith in Christ' (June 20, 1799: *Transactions of the Missionary Society*, i, 1795-1802, p. 376).

'They [some frontier farmers who were in revolt] complained that government protected the Hottentots and Caffrees, and encouraged them to rob and murder the Colonists; that they were instructed by us in reading, writing and religion, and thereby put upon an equal footing with the Christians; especially that they were admitted in the church of Graaff Reinet, and that we kept meetings with them every evening in that place; that they intended to fall upon Graaff Reinet, and to force the Commissioner to put a stop to these proceedings' (June 30, 1801: *op. cit.*, pp. 481-2).

'I spoke to Susanna's master, who was a Deacon, and reputed one of the best-intentioned members of the reformed church; but he persisted in refusing to have his slave baptized. He said, that it was not so much the loss of his right to sell her that determined him to object against it, but his apprehension lest her pride should grow insupportable by her admission among the Christians. He also gave her a bad character, and accused her of having stolen some sugar, according to the report of a fellow slave [who subsequently confessed that Susanna had been accused unjustly]' (Sept. 15, 1801: *op. cit.*, p. 491).

² There were not a few farmers, however, who strongly sympathized with the efforts of the missionaries. See J. du Plessis, *Christian Missions in South Africa*, p. 121. On some farms it was customary for slaves and Hottentots to attend at family worship. For a description of this practice on a farm in the Roggeveld see Lichtenstein, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 447. On farms in the Colony this practice was even more frequent.

³ Calvinism was very much alive on the frontier and any other creed was suspect. Compare the case of Lichtenstein himself, who was obliged to conceal from his host the fact that he was a Lutheran (vol. ii, p. 448). One of the objections brought against the mission station of 'Bedelaarsdorp' (Bethelsdorp) was that the teaching of the missionaries was not sufficiently orthodox.

teachings of the Bible. Even the long-suffering Janssens, whose sympathy with the efforts of the missionaries at Bethelsdorp, though genuine, was restrained, felt compelled to write:

'Onderwys! Onderwys! ontbreekt hen bovenal; zy noemen zigzelve menschen en Christenen, de Kaffers en Hottentotten heydenen, en hier door gelooven zy zig alles geoorlooft. Een broeder van Thomas Ferreira die cenige lectuur vermeend te hebben, heeft de ontdekking gedaan dat de Hottentotten de afstammelingen van het vervloekte ras van Ham zyn, en dus ter dienstbaarheid en mishandeling door den almachtigen God zyn gedoemd.'¹

Hendrik Swellengrebel, who wrote at a time when the contacts between the Europeans and the Bantu were still at a tentative stage, remarks:

'Genoemde onze landslieden gaven geene gunstige getuigenis van de Kaffers, dien zy als zeer te mistrouwen afschilderden. Veel op hun Christendom pronerende, waren de anderen maar zwarte schelmsche Heidenen, die 't alleen toeleiden om de Christenen van kant te helpen. Ingevolge van dat denkbeeld was hunne bejegening tegen deze natie ook vry norsch en brutaal, waarover ik met hen veel eens in woordenwisseling kwam.'²

Under such circumstances, the intense and exclusive group consciousness of the frontier found expression in a consciousness of race and social supremacy which coincided almost uniformly with the distinctions based upon creed and colour. Christianity and skin-colour, membership of a particular group and social superiority, became so closely associated with one another that any one by itself could serve as a criterion of group membership. And, conversely, the absence of any of these carried with it the

¹ *Belang. Hist. Dok.*, p. 219. [Tr.: 'Instruction! Instruction! is what they lack above all else, they call themselves men and Christians, the Kaffirs and Hottentots heathen, and for this reason they believe that they are permitted everything. A brother of Thomas Ferreira who pretends to have some literature, has made the discovery that the Hottentots are the descendants of the accursed race of Ham, and consequently are condemned by God Almighty to servitude and ill-treatment'] 'This attitude to the Hottentots as God's 'skepsels' who were not even to be regarded as 'God's stepchildren', was not, of course, confined only to the frontier, as we can see from the following: 'Deze gronden zyn zeer aanneemelyk en zoude zeer goed zyn, indien men dit alleen bepaalde op Christenen, maar na myn inzien kan . . . niet te passe koomen omtrent hydenen en vooral de Hottentotten die men in 't generaal in de Historien voor de mwste voort reekend en dus zo geregeld nimmer denken of kunnen denken als Christenen' (Reply of Landdrost of Stellenbosch to Fiscal, Apr. 2, 1810, C. A. Stellenbosch 29)

² Swellengrebel, op. cit., *Zuid-Afrika*, No. 9, Sept. 1932. [Tr.: 'Our countrymen in question gave an unfavourable account of the Kaffirs, whom they described as extremely treacherous. Preening themselves on their Christianity, the others were merely crafty heathen, whose only intention was to destroy the Christians. As a result of this belief their treatment of this nation was fairly harsh and offensive, a matter about which I had frequent arguments with them.']

stigma of religious, social, and racial inferiority which almost automatically excluded the individual so distinguished from membership of the group. The group had, in fact, become, to all intents and purposes, a kind of caste into which the individual was born, or from which he was excluded as the result of the same accident.

Of all these criteria, that of skin-colour was the most pervasive and the most consistent in its operation. In spite of the fact that an individual, especially if he were light coloured, might achieve some kind of religious, racial, or social equality which would enable him to secure admission into the caste-group, inferiority was always found associated with a dark or black skin, but never with a white skin, which, on the contrary, was everywhere associated with religious and social superiority.¹ Because differences of skin-colour are so obvious, they can, more readily than any other physical difference, become attached, by a process of 'conditioning', to the prevailing social attitudes of the group. When once such a colour difference becomes the sign of a distinction which either includes or excludes, the result is a group-colour prejudice.

Although colour prejudice, as such, was not so rigidly exclusive in its operation as it has since become, there is some contemporary evidence to show that it was already firmly established before the end of the century.² Distinctions of colour, even when they came into conflict with those other distinctions with which they usually coincided, and to which they originally owed their existence, were certainly by now, and probably had been for some time, more important than any other criterion as a means of group inclusion or exclusion. But it was not a criterion that always worked with complete consistency nor was it an all-or-none affair. Since colour prejudice, as a social attitude, can have no reality apart from the existence of the group, much of its operation will depend upon the circumstances in which the group has developed and the conditions under which social contacts take place. On the frontier, as we have seen, contacts with other groups were more or less of the

¹ The usual description was 'Christian or European', but we sometimes find 'Christian or white man' (Sparriman, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 31). The same author describes two brothers 'the issue of a Christian man and of a bastard negress of the second or third generation. One of the sons . . . did not appear by any means slighted in the company of the Christian farmers, though, at that time, *he had not been baptized*' (*op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 284-5). Original not italicized.

² Thus Sparriman: 'It is true, a great many of the whites have so much pride, as to hinder, as far as lies in their power, the blacks or their offspring from mixing with their blood' (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 285). Whether the individual was baptized or not, black blood by this time had definitely become a social handicap. As early as the beginning of the century we find a trace of it at the Cape in Adam Tas's slighting reference to the ancestry of Adriaan van der Stel, whose paternal grandmother, Monica da Costa, was of mixed blood and dubbed '*in zwaartme*'.

anarchical kind that is characteristic of frontier conditions. Under such circumstances, group attitudes were more violent, more intense, and brought into play the more hostile and aggressive tendencies as the result of the local situation. In the older established parts of the country, such as the slave-owning agricultural districts of the Cape, where social contacts between whites and people of colour were, to a far greater extent, regularized by status, and where relations on that basis were, on the whole, of a far friendlier and more intimate kind, distinctions of social position or of skin-colour were likely to be far more conspicuous than distinctions based upon race or religion. In the one case, the very closeness of social contact tended to emphasize what differences there were in skin-colour since other differences were less conspicuous; in the other case, these other differences were so obvious that they tended to overshadow the difference in colour as such.

The position occupied by the free burgher in the community which had been steadily developing at the Cape during the eighteenth century is well brought out by the following contemporary account:

'Van der jengd gewoon, slaven te gebieden, gelooft hy zich boven alles verheven en kan slecht gehoorsamen. . . . Dit hoog gevoelen van zich zelve maakt, dat zelfs een boer zynen staat met dien van niemand verwisselen zoude. Op den naam van Africaan is hy trotsch; Kaapsche Burger schynt hem een grootsche titel. Deze te verre gaande trotsheid heeft de luiheid ten gevolge. Weinge blanken zullen een hand aan den landbouw slaan of den arm in het pakhuis gebruiken; 't is slavenwerk! waar zyn de slaven voor? is het andre woord.'¹

For more than a generation this same burgher, both in the town and in the country, had been living under conditions that strongly favoured the growth of a sense of assured social superiority, not only over other classes in the community but over strangers as well.² The rising standards of life and of civilization were reflected in the domestic architecture of town and country houses, and by the generous scale on which some of the wealthier landowning farmers

¹ C. de Jong, op cit., Brief XVI, 20 Dec. 1792. [Tr.: 'Accustomed from youth to command slaves, he believes himself to be exalted over all others and obeys with an ill grace. This conceit of himself has as a result that even a farmer would not exchange his position for that of any one else. He is proud of the name of African, Cape Burgher appears to him a grand title. This overweening pride gives rise to indolence. Few whites will lend a hand in agriculture or roll up their sleeves in the warehouse, it is the work of slaves! what are slaves for? is the reply.'] For an official statement to the same effect, see Res., 19.4.1786. C. 79, p. 421.

² M. le Vaillant, *Travels into the Interior Parts of Africa*, pp. 140-1. In the same passage mention is also made of 'these planters so proud of their colour'.

or landed proprietors lived.¹ It is not surprising that members of this class attached a great deal of importance to the rights and privileges of burgher to which they were entitled.² The distinction between burgher and non-burgher had become of much greater importance than it had been in the early days of the colony. To have been baptized was no longer even sufficient as a claim to freedom from servile status and, therefore, still less for admission to burgher status as it had been in the past.³ One had to be born free, of free-born parents who were themselves of Christian, that is, of pure European, descent, in order to be accepted as a fully qualified burgher on an equal footing with other members of the same class. Significantly enough, one of the earliest cases of overt colour prejudice on record is an incident that occurred in an agricultural district, and which is described as follows:

'Dat die Burgeren Daniel Bosman, Hermanus Bosman de Jonge en Pieter Daniel de Villiers, van welke drie de eerstgemelde het woord had gevoerd, op gem. 30 October even voor dat deselvs. Comp. na het Exercitie plain stond aftetrekken, by hem vervoegd en aan hem, zo uit hun als meer andere hunnen meede onder gem. Comp. dienst doende Burgeren Naam, ge-declareerd hadden, met den Burger Johannes Hartog de Jonge, die zy tenzelven dage eerst vernomen hadden, als Corporaal effectief onder deselve Comp. aangesteld te zyn, geen dienst te willen doen, maar wel als gemeen soldaet, *vermits denselven Swartagtig van Couleur, en van Heydenen afkomstig zou zyn.*'⁴

Not long before the incident reported above took place there had been formed a 'Free Corps' at the suggestion of

¹ Compare Lichtenstein, for example, on Meerlust and Morgenster, properties which were then, and still are to-day, in the possession of the Myburgh and Morkel families (op cit., vol. II, chap. 36).

² For the legal, as distinct from the social, status of burgher, see R.C.C., vol. XI, p. 119.

³ Thus: 'Burgher Councillors submit that a certain slave born person, baptized Christian, procured with a slave girl by the late Jacobus V—, . . . request that he may be enrolled as a burgher' (*Requests or Memorials*, 1723-4). The ultimate effect of the prohibition of free immigration which had been in force since the recall of W. A. van der Stel at the beginning of the century may also have encouraged the growth of an exclusive attitude.

⁴ Res. 1788, Missive van den Landdrost en den Krygsraad tot Stellenbosch en Drakenstein. Cape Archives, C. 83. Original not italicized. [Tr.: 'That the Burghers Daniel Bosman, Hermanus Bosman the Younger, and Peter Daniel de Villiers, of whom the first named had acted as spokesman, on the 30th October even before the Company in question was drawn up in readiness to move off to the field of drill, had approached him and in their own name as well as in the name of other of their fellow burghers who were enrolled in the said Company, had declared that they were not willing to serve together with the Burgher Johannes Hartog the Younger who they had discovered for the first time on that day had been appointed to the effective rank of corporal (though they would serve with him as a common soldier), on the ground that he was of a black colour and of heathen descent.']

the Burgher Military Council. In this corps were to be enrolled all those

'who, though not born in slavery, have not been born in wedlock, and for that reason cannot be enrolled among the burghers doing service; and also that they cannot very well be employed with those at the Fire Engines and Public Works, who have been born in slavery.'¹

In 1790 one Jan Smook, burgher, 'who more than 20 years ago, married Joanna of the Cape [that is, a woman of colour] whom he had manumitted after she had been baptized and confirmed', was summoned by the burgher infantry captain to enrol his eldest son as a member of the Free Corps. Smook indignantly refused on the ground that his son did not belong to the class of person for whom the Free Corps had been instituted, and petitioned the Council to set aside the summons and permit his son to join one of the ordinary burgher companies, 'since he [that is, Smook senior], as a right-minded burgher, believes that the lot of himself and his children does not depend on the caprice of any of his fellow burghers, with whom he possibly ranks as an equal'. In its report on this petition, the Burgher Military Council made it clear that the Free Corps was originally intended not only for those who, though free, had not been born in wedlock, '*maar ook alle de zoudanige Inwoonders daar benevens wiens ouders niet in den Staat van Vryheid geboren zyn*'.²

The foregoing incidents show plainly enough the direction in which group sentiment was developing with regard to skin-colour, and how firmly it had become associated with an inferior or servile status in the community as well as with a 'Heydensche afkomst'. Whereas formerly persons of colour had been freely admitted into the European or Christian community, on the ground that they were of mixed parentage in addition to having been baptized, they were now, more and more, being excluded on the very same ground even in spite of having been baptized. Thus, ever since slavery had been introduced at the Cape, it had been taken for granted that a baptized slave could claim his freedom. The inevitable result was

'that the children born in slavery are neither baptized nor given any religious instruction. There is a common and well-grounded belief that Christians must not be held in bondage; hence only such children as are intended for emancipation, are baptized.'³

¹ *Requesten or Memorials*, 1787.

² For Smook's petition, see *Requesten or Memorials*, Nov. 19, 1792. For report of Burgher Military Council, see Res. C 93. Original not italicized. [Tr.: 'but also all such other inhabitants besides whose parents had not been born in the state of freedom.']

³ Mentzel, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 130-1. Compare Thunberg: 'A certain hatter

When, in 1792, the question was explicitly raised by the Church Council of Stellenbosch, whether owners who permitted or encouraged their slaves to be baptized would be obliged to emancipate them, the matter was referred to the Church Council of Capetown for its opinion. That body replied that neither the law of the land nor the law of the church prohibited the retention of baptized persons in slavery, while local custom strongly supported the practice, and added

'dat het niet weinig zoude dienen tot stremming van den voortgang van het Christendom indien daaromtrent die bepaaling gemaakt wierd dat niemand deselfs lyfeygenen op Belydenisse zou mogen laten doopen dan tenzy dezelve gehouden werden dezulke in vryheid te moeten stellen.'¹

Our historical study of the changes in race attitudes on the part of the European may appropriately be brought to a close at this stage in their development. If we have succeeded in showing that the race attitudes which the first Europeans brought with them to the Cape had undergone a radical alteration, and if our account of the factors which contributed to this result is at all convincing, then the original aim of this historical survey has been accomplished. For we have now reached familiar ground, since the attitudes themselves, as they existed towards the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, are very similar to those which we find displayed on all sides at the present time.² The changes that have taken place in them since the close of our period may be important, but they are hardly comparable with the changes that took place during that period. And those same attitudes, more particularly in the form in which they were developed on the frontier, were to be one of the main factors in shaping nineteenth-century history in South Africa.

The first half of that century was to witness some startling developments in the history of race contacts, which are still very much alive in the hearts of the descendants of those who took part

in the town . . . had got two of his slaves with child. For the child he had by one of them, he . . . demanded baptism, and accordingly this was baptized, and consequently free; while the other girl's child remained unbaptized, and a slave' (op. cit., vol. ii, p. 127).

¹ Res. 26.6.1792, No. 97, pp. 747-52. [Tr.: 'that it would contribute in no small measure to the obstruction of the progress of Christianity if in this matter a stipulation were made to the effect that no one should be permitted to allow his slaves to be baptized upon confession of faith unless he himself were held bound to emancipate the same.'] Many of the slaves whose owners were unsympathetic or indifferent became Mohammedans. For previous references to the question of baptism see above, pp. 44-6, and 77-8.

² The attitudes remain the same though they may be differently rationalized. The emphasis is now laid upon the white man and his 'civilization' rather than upon the Christian and his 'religion'.

in them. Fortunately for us, we are relieved by the limited aim of this investigation from having to undertake a further inquiry into the extremely complicated interracial situation which arose on the frontier between Boer and Bantu, and which was made still more complicated by the arrival of the Briton, either as government official or as missionary, upon the scene.¹ The history of those times is the politics of the present day, since the same issues are at stake to-day which came to the forefront at the time of the Great Trek, exactly a century ago. That movement may have had many more or less immediate causes, such as we find dealt with in the text-books, but its roots are to be found in the history of race contacts and the development of race attitudes during the eighteenth century before the Kaffir and the Englishman had appeared upon the boards. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the exciting and in many ways heroic and moving episodes that constitute for most minds the Great Trek, should be allowed to obscure the importance of the eighteenth century as the formative period of those race attitudes on the part of the European which make an adjustment, satisfactory to both races, the most difficult problem of twentieth-century South Africa.

¹ For two books which deal specifically, from a very definite point of view, with these issues, see W. M. Macmillan, *The Cape Colour Question*, and *Bantu, Boer and Briton*.

PART II EXPERIMENTAL

VIII THEORY AND METHODS OF ATTITUDE MEASUREMENT

1. *The Concept of Social Attitude*

THE term 'attitude' is used in everyday life in so many different senses that its introduction into current psychological vocabulary must necessarily be accompanied by a good deal of vagueness and ambiguity. It has long been a commonplace to observe that this practice on the part of psychologists of using the quasi-psychological terms of everyday speech for the purpose of expressing their own concepts has led to a great deal of unnecessary confusion and useless argument. As a technical term, 'attitude' first appeared in psychological literature at the beginning of the present century. Introspective analysis, under controlled conditions, had shown that the higher mental processes, such as judgement and thought, could not be satisfactorily reduced, without remainder, to the elementary sensations, images, and feelings of the Wundtian scheme. Thus Marbe, in an experimental study of judgement, discovered that, when a subject was asked to lift two weights in succession and to judge which was the heavier, he could report the presence of sensations, but that these were not equivalent to the judgement 'heavier than' or 'lighter than'. The judgement was made, and made correctly, without the subject being able to account for its occurrence in terms of relevant sensations and images. These elements, therefore, did not exhaust the contents of the 'judging consciousness', and a place had to be found for a new element to which the name *Bewusstseinslage* or 'conscious attitude', was given. One of the most significant of these early investigations of the Wurzburg school was that conducted by Watt on controlled association, in which he showed clearly that the decisive moment in the process of finding the response-word did not occur after the presentation of the stimulus-word, but during the preparatory period when the subject accepted the task, or *Aufgabe*. It was the *Einstellung*, 'mental set', or 'attitude', aroused in the subject during the preparatory period that really determined the occurrence and character of the response. By Ach the *Einstellung* was given the

name of 'determining tendency', to indicate the role which it played in giving rise to conscious thought or overt action.

These discoveries of the Würzburg school, made under the rigidly controlled and highly conscious conditions of the introspective situation, first drew attention to the importance of the concept of attitude. They showed that, whatever interpretation might be given to the term, the attitude was a real fact that could not be explained away or accounted for in terms of the prevailing psychology of mental elements. In some sense, an attitude played a dynamic role, it was an enduring, persisting tendency outside consciousness that, nevertheless, controlled and shaped the events in consciousness. Thus even an introspective psychology that tried to confine itself only to those events which the individual could directly observe at the time of their occurrence in consciousness was obliged to admit that they depended upon the existence of other events that were not directly introspectible. 'The key to thought as well as to action was to be found in the preparation of the subject', a state of mind or of body that prepared the way for, and expressed itself in, the specific idea or act according to the demands of the situation, the actual problem or task by which the subject was confronted. Or, putting it in another way, we may say that our ideas and acts are a function of the attitudes which we take up towards the situations in our environment.¹

The determining tendencies or attitudes of the introspective psychologists were, however, too narrowly conceived, and too strictly confined by the exigencies of experimental investigation under laboratory conditions, for a sufficiently adequate conception of their implications for everyday life and behaviour to be developed. It is true that the discovery of attitudes was due to an interest in performance, but the performances in question were carried out in a deliberate, self-conscious way that seemed very remote from the behaviour of the individual in everyday life. The attitudes involved were temporary, almost momentary, conditions induced for the sake of the experiment and as readily abandoned. Although Ach pointed out that these determining tendencies were of great importance in everyday life, what he had in mind, apparently, were such simple cases as that illustrated by the individual who sets out to post a letter, and whose subsequent behaviour remains directed to that end without conscious thought and in spite of diversions and interruptions.² Of those tendencies that

¹ For the brief reference made in this section to the Würzburg school and its work, Boring's *A History of Experimental Psychology*, chap. xvii, was found very useful.

² Compare J. C. Flugel, *A Hundred Years of Psychology*, p. 237. Some of the investigations of K. Lewin, from which the above example is taken, deal with

remain permanently a part of the individual's being, that do not exist merely during the time that some particular train of thought or of behaviour is taking place, but continue to affect his thought, feeling, and action on appropriate occasions and in ways of which he may be quite unconscious, the experimental psychology of the day had nothing to say, for the simple reason that they fell beyond the range of its methods.

It was not until a more behaviouristically orientated psychology, interested in the study of the organism's behaviour as a whole to environmental situations, appeared upon the scene that determining tendencies could be adequately dealt with. The instinct psychology of McDougall and his followers, with its biological bias, represents one such attempt which was soon succeeded by the 'tougher-minded' habit psychology of an experimental behaviourism. Throughout, the controversy between the instinct psychologists and the habit psychologists was conducted in terms of the antithesis between heredity and environment, between nature and nurture, between the individual and society. While, from the one point of view, the environment merely served to release instinctive forces within the individual, from the other point of view behaviour was merely the effect of environmental stimuli playing upon the individual. While, from the one point of view, the nature of the individual remained fundamentally unchanged throughout development, from the other point of view the nature of the individual was built up in the form of habit through processes of learning such as 'conditioning', habit formation, and the like. While, from the one point of view, the individual remained a self-contained unit in society, from the other point of view he was merely a faithful reflection of the society of which he was a member. According to instinct psychology, the determining tendencies to behaviour were derived, either directly or indirectly, from the instincts; according to habit psychology, determining tendencies were acquired, since the habit, once it had been established, was itself a drive to behaviour.

Both instinct psychology and habit psychology were right in their facts but wrong in their conclusions. Thus instinct psychology is right when it affirms that there are original trends to behaviour which are common to all members of a species, but wrong in concluding that the nature of the individual remains unchanged as a member of society. Habit psychology, also, is right when it

the sort of behaviour that Ach had in mind. From the Gestalt point of view, an attitude is 'a stress in the (neural or brain) field between the self and those
 pai physiological correlate
 xperience of other persons (or objects)'. (W. Kohler, *Gestalt Psychology*, p. 251)

affirms that the behaviour of the individual is largely a matter of habit, but wrong in concluding that the habits of the individual are literally a second nature. The initial antithesis between heredity and environment, which leads to these contradictory conclusions with regard to the relation between original and acquired nature, must be abandoned in favour of the point of view from which they are both regarded as successive stages or steps in a single developmental process. The bio-physiological development (maturation) of the individual before and after birth, and the psycho-physiological development (learning) after birth, are stages in a continuous development which proceeds stepwise as we ascend from level to level of behaviour. The three conflicting points of view, when made explicit, lead to three quite distinct representations of the process of development. In the case of the instinct hypothesis, the process is represented by a persisting tendency which passes through a continuous succession of phases; in the case of the habit hypothesis, the process is represented by a series of successive layers or strata which are laid down in the form of habits; in the case of the third hypothesis, which has been given the name of the organismic hypothesis,¹ the process is represented by a continuous succession of steps or gradients each of which leads on to a new level of behaviour.

From the organismic point of view, the development of the individual is regarded as a progressive diversification induced by the differential or selective stimulation of successive environments. Since the environment before birth is highly uniform, the pre-natal development varies only within very narrow limits—the bio-physiological differentiation, though highly complex, follows the same general pattern in every individual of the species. After birth, the effective environmental conditions of stimulation vary within very much wider limits, so that further differentiation, though no less determined by environmental pressure, is less predictable. Where the organism reacts as a whole to stimulation we find that the responses evoked have a psychological quality—the organism, as we say, learns through interaction with its environment. The results are retained in the form of habit, and habit formations therefore represent a differentiation at the psycho-physiological level of development in the same way that instinct formations represent an earlier and simpler differentiation at the bio-physiological level. Habits are not the trimmings developed by an omnipotent instinct nor are they the heirs of a decaying

¹ A convenient summary of the organismic hypothesis is given by C. M. Child, 'The Beginnings of Unity and Order in Living Things', in *The Unconscious*, ed. by F. S. Dummer.

instinct, but differentiations out of some broad and plastic trend which, both on the side of overt behaviour as well as on the side of impulse, is vague, diffuse, and unorganized. In the interaction with the environment which is the process of learning, of conditioning, of habit formation, contact of organism and environment is an external process—a kind of surface contact in which stimulus from without acts upon sense organ, giving rise to response on the part of the organism. No further development to a higher level can take place until the individual becomes sensitive to a new kind of environment which is embodied in the language or symbolic behaviour of others. When language, which must not be confused with substitute vocal stimulation or vocal response, becomes effective in eliciting responses, we find a further advance in differentiation which finds expression in genuine social or psycho-social behaviour. The individual now responds, not to the outer, but to the inner aspects of the behaviour of those with whom he comes into social contact through the medium of language. These inner aspects may be called 'attitudes', and they constitute the reality of the social situation or stimulus which evokes the response of the individual. Their effect upon the individual can only take the form of arousing similar attitudes in him either towards objects, other persons, or himself. Thus the way is prepared for that interaction of attitudes which is social behaviour and which is, in effect, an internal process, since the individual, in responding to, and by means of, language or any other form of symbolic behaviour, comes to play a dual role in evoking or responding to attitudes whether in himself or another.¹ Attitudes, like instincts and habits, are determining tendencies, but, while instincts give rise to overt behaviour in general and habits to specific forms, attitudes guide and control through anticipation of future behaviour. Hence, the behaviour associated with attitudes is far more flexible and plastic, far more variable as a means of dealing with changing and changeable situations. Again, while instincts have little or no specific objective reference, and habits lead to the acceptance of objects merely as relevant stimuli, attitudes endow objects both with significance and with value. Instincts as determining tendencies are blind, habits are automatic in their operation, but attitudes are intelligent since they involve foresight. At the level of attitude, the individual is necessarily conscious of self in relation to other selves, for social attitudes represent the final differentiation brought about by a psycho-social environment in the individual as a member of a social group or society. Summing up, we may say that, at the

¹ Compare G. H. Mead, 'A Behavioristic Account of the Significant Symbol', *The Journal of Philosophy*, vol. xix, No. 6.

bio-physiological level, behaviour is instinctive and unconscious, with drives in the form of internal (physiological) stimuli or sensations; at the psycho-physiological level, behaviour is habitual and unselfconscious, with motives in the form of external stimuli or perceptions; at the psycho-social level, behaviour is attitudinal and socially-conscious, with wishes in the form of ideal stimuli or ideas.

Social attitudes must be distinguished from physical, or muscular, attitudes and from mental, or neural, sets. The former are the subjective aspects of the manners and morals, the customs and traditions, the mental and material culture, of the group to which the individual belongs. A social attitude is always the attitude of some particular individual, but it represents the effect produced in him by his social environment, operating, in the first place, through the attitudes of those with whom he comes into direct social contact. Social attitudes constitute the social self of the individual, which is built up through the control exercised over his behaviour by the attitude of others. The adjustments which he makes to his own self, to other selves, and to socially relevant objects, are all in terms of acquired social attitudes. These attitudes, therefore, determine and direct the behaviour of the individual in ways that are socially adequate and acceptable. They are modes of adjustment to a social environment which that environment has itself produced. An adjustment to any particular situation may require an appropriate muscular or mental set, but these appear and vanish as situations come and go, for they represent merely the temporary tension which is aroused when an attitude comes into play in a specific way. As a permanent, or relatively permanent, disposition of the individual, the attitude endures.

In conclusion, we may say that the existence of social attitudes registers the fact that the individual has become the member of a social group, that his original tendencies, trends, or drives have become organized into forms that enable him to participate in the common experience of social life and to behave as a socialized being.¹ The life of a social group, or society, consists of these attitudes in interaction with one another, since social attitudes are the reflection, qualified by the idiosyncrasies of personal experience, of the group itself in its individual members.

2. *Attitude, Behaviour, and Opinion*

An attitude always has an objective reference, since it is at one

¹ The concept of social attitude has much in common with McDougall's concept of sentiment. But the two concepts are based upon entirely different views, among other things, of the nature of instinct, of the relation of original to acquired nature, of the relation of the individual and society, of the changes that take place in development.

and the same time a determining tendency, a mode of adjustment, and a preparation for response to a specific situation or kind of situation. A social situation, or object, is defined for the individual in terms of his attitude towards it, so that, in the absence of any attitude, the situation becomes a matter of indifference or loses its stimulus value. Again, two different attitudes towards the same object will lead to quite different values being attached to that object, since the object is not merely defined but also evaluated in terms of the correlated attitude. Thus an anti-native attitude will lead an individual to think about, and feel towards, the native in ways which are quite different from those that characterize the thinking and feeling of an individual who has a pro-native attitude. As a social object the native appears in two quite different roles, according to whichever of the two attitudes comes into play. The object and its correlated attitude, therefore, are intimately connected. Neither can exist apart from the other, since they are both parts of a whole in which the attitude represents the inner, or subjective, aspect, and the object the outer, or environmental, aspect. We may say, in fact, that it is not the object as it is but the object as it is believed to be, that determines the individual's responses to it, and that the object represents in fact a projection of the individual's subjective attitude.

The attitude, as a mode of adjustment to some defined and evaluated object, stands in a very close relation with the overt response or behaviour which mediates between the individual and the object. The behaviour itself is always the realization, in some concrete, specific way, of the attitude-in-action. The attitude-object relationship, otherwise, can have no reality, since, in the last resort, the proof of its existence lies in the behaviour to which it gives rise. For that reason, the mere profession of an attitude is universally regarded as equivalent to the absence of the attitude in question. Sooner or later, therefore, the individual must commit himself, or refrain from committing himself, to some overt response because of his attitude. Even a conflict of attitudes will not so much render the conflicting attitudes inoperative, as it will make the resultant behaviour less predictable. As a mode of adjustment, the attitude provides the individual with ways of dealing with relevant objects, or situations, which are psychologically satisfying, while the preparatory and anticipatory function of the attitude enables the individual to remain in a constant state of readiness to behave—he is never caught completely off his guard. An attitude, therefore, may be regarded as a kind of permanent orientation on the part of the individual, so that the appropriate response to the specific object, or situation, is already

provided for in advance. In some such sense, an attitude may be described as an implicit, or potential, response which only requires the relevant stimulus to release it in some determinate way. In any narrow sense, however, the stimulus-response formula will clearly not apply to such behaviour, since the response is the expression of the attitude and not the effect produced by the stimulus. Until we have discovered the attitude which finds expression in the behaviour of the individual, that behaviour can have no meaning or value for us. Thus the behaviour of the primitive, or savage, which otherwise appears merely stupid or silly, at once becomes significant when we are able to relate it to the underlying attitude. In our social contacts with others, it is the attitude which finds expression in their behaviour to which we respond and to which we attach value. No 'automatic sweetheart', such as the one conceived of by William James,¹ however gracious her outward behaviour, could ever possibly prove a satisfactory substitute, once we had discovered that her behaviour was really automatic and not expressive of those attitudes which we expect to find in a sweetheart.

In spite of the fact that a genuine attitude must sooner or later find expression in overt behaviour, there may be, nevertheless, considerable variations in the responses to which it gives rise. Any specific response depends, not merely upon the attitude, but upon the attitude in relation to the particular situation. As the situation varies, so also will the response, since an attitude, unlike a habit, is a flexible mode of adjustment which can adapt itself to a wide variety of different situations. But all the different specific responses will tend to display a common character, so that it becomes possible to classify them together as the expressions of the same attitude which remains relatively fixed and constant. Responses, therefore, which are the expressions of the same attitude are likely to display a high degree of consistency with one another, though we need not expect complete consistency, since the attitude itself may be ambivalent or qualified by the presence of other attitudes. A single response is not a reliable index of an attitude, but a number of responses may indicate the presence of an attitude, provided that they display the same general character. The distinction between attitude and response is based on the difference between the more or less general mode of adjustment to some kind of situation, and the specific adjustment or overt response to a particular situation. But the passage from attitude to response is not always straightforward, so that the inference to the one from the other is never certain. The response alone is a matter

¹ *The Meaning of Truth*, p. 189.

of direct observation, the existence of the attitude is always inferred. Of the two, however, the attitude is by far the more important fact for an understanding of the individual, since we have far more insight into the nature of the individual when we have discovered his attitude than when we have observed his behaviour.

Although, as a rule, the emphasis is laid upon the part played by attitudes in determining behaviour whenever some overt adjustment to a specific situation is required, their real significance lies in the fact that they constitute the underlying reality of social life and social interaction. It is not to the overt behaviour of another that we respond in the first place, but to the attitude which finds expression in, or lies behind, that behaviour. And since the appropriate response to an attitude is itself an attitude, we find that the very essence of psycho-social behaviour consists in just this interaction of attitudes. Follett's concept of the 'circular response'¹ becomes far more meaningful when we interpret it in terms of the interplay of social attitudes. Not only is such attitudinal behaviour far more sensitive and mobile than overt behaviour, but the use of language, or some other mode of symbolic behaviour, by means of which social inter-stimulation takes place, changes the whole character of the performance. By means of language we can establish social contact with one another and so become aware of, and respond to, one another's attitudes. By means of language we can break down the barrier of subjectivity that isolates inarticulate organisms and become socially conscious. By means of language we can share in a common experience, since the essential function of language is communication in the sense of a common participation or communion together. Thus the use and appreciation of any language symbol is only achieved when the word or symbol arouses in us the same subjective response that it does in another.² The externalization of the subjective, and the psycho-social interaction by means of physical inter-stimulation, make language activity an indispensable medium for any kind of genuine social behaviour.

The first function of language, then, in its psycho-social context, is not to express but to communicate, to make common property, our attitudes, or what we think and feel with regard to any specific situation in a psychological sense which has social significance. We may call the opinion a verbalized attitude.³ The existence of an

¹ M. C. Follett, *The New State*, p. 25.

² J. F. Markey, *The Symbolic Process*, pp. 34-5.

³ The verbalizable or conscious attitude which finds expression in an opinion may be compared with the unverbalizable or unconscious attitude which makes use of a special kind of symbolism. Thus the neurotic symptoms which express a repressed wish may be symbolic though we fail to grasp their meaning.

attitude in an individual may, therefore, be inferred from his overt behaviour, or, more directly, from an appreciation of his opinions. And just as we require to observe a number of overt responses in order to determine his attitude, so also a number of opinions is required before we can form an adequate idea of his attitude. Neither overt behaviour nor opinion (or verbal behaviour) can be regarded as a perfectly reliable indicator of the underlying attitude, since they may both be merely professions of a non-existent attitude. It is important to bear in mind that a man's behaviour may be as deceitful as his language when he wishes to conceal his real attitude, and on that score, therefore, there is no reason why preference should be given to the one rather than to the other as a means of determining his attitude. In any case, we do constantly in everyday life rely upon an individual's opinions in order to form an idea of his attitudes, and it may be as interesting, though not perhaps as useful for certain purposes, to discover what attitudes the individual wishes us to believe he has as what his real attitudes are. There does not appear to be much point in drawing too hard and fast a distinction between professed attitudes and real attitudes, since, except for extreme cases which are the exception and not the rule, the merely professed, the professional, and the real attitudes of an individual tend to shade off into one another. Of the two criteria for determining the existence of an attitude, the opinion has several advantages compared with the overt response. For one thing, since so much of the interaction of attitudes takes place through the medium of language, and since so much of social control is exercised by means of the spoken or written word, it is the opinion rather than the overt response that is more important or, at any rate, more conspicuous in social behaviour. An attitude apart from the opinions which are associated with it has little significance for social intercourse. For another thing, the very specificity and finality of overt behaviour may misrepresent the attitude, if it is at all complex or many-sided. In the case of an attitude which is very simple and definite, the individual's behaviour, as an all-or-none affair, may be an adequate representation. But where, as we find in so many cases, attitudes tend to be less definite and more complex, and may even contain self-contradictory elements, they can be more fairly represented by opinions than by overt acts of behaviour. When the individual is obliged to act, he must choose between white and black, whereas his real attitude is, more often than not, some intermediate shade of grey. It is these nuances of attitude that can be represented more effectively by means of opinions than by means of the individual's plunges into overt behaviour or action.

3. *Methods of Measurement*

That there exist marked differences in the social attitudes of different individuals is a fact for which the existence of conflicting opinions provides ample evidence. Thus we speak of an individual's attitude as favourable or unfavourable towards some psychological situation, such as an institution, e.g. the church; or a policy, e.g. prohibition; or a class or group of persons, e.g. the natives. That these differences may be regarded as variations in degree of the same attitude is shown by the fact that we can describe one attitude as more or less favourable than another, or more or less unfavourable than another. The problem of measurement consists in finding a method by which these differences in degree of an attitude variable can be expressed in quantitative form. The most convenient approach to the problem is by means of the psychological questionnaire, which consists of verbal statements or questions about the attitude. On the assumption that the subject, by endorsing or rejecting the various items of the questionnaire with which he agrees or disagrees, is expressing his own attitude, a score may be attached to his performance which can then be compared with the scores of similar performances by other subjects. Since the data which are brought to light by the verbal approach of the attitude-questionnaire are concerned directly with the opinions, beliefs, and feelings of the subject, the value of any such questionnaire will depend very largely upon the objective methods which are used for evaluating or scoring the results. But in all cases the success of the questionnaire, unlike a test, say, of intelligence, depends not upon the ability of the subject to make the required response, but upon his readiness or willingness to do so; it is not so much a question of what the subject can do but of what he is willing to do, in a given situation.¹

The questionnaire as an instrument of research has been so much abused in the past that, in the reaction against the use of any and every kind of questionnaire, an unreasonable scepticism with regard to the questionnaire method, as such, is widely prevalent. But, quite apart from the fact that the newer techniques that have been devised largely avoid the pitfalls into which the early applications of the method fell, the questionnaire is, for certain purposes, the only method available. The whole field of opinion, for example, can only be dealt with directly by means of the questionnaire, and if we assume that opinions represent socially significant aspects of attitudes, then these aspects can also be investigated by means of the same method.

¹ Compare P. M. Symonds, *Diagnosing Personality and Conduct*, p. 122.

The new type of psychological questionnaire is primarily interested in the discovery and measurement of individual differences. It endeavours to do for the conative-affective, or orectic, aspects of individual personality and behaviour what has been so successfully accomplished for the intellectual abilities and achievements of the individual by means of intelligence tests and the new methods of examination. Applied to the measurement of opinion and attitude, the new type of questionnaire seeks to control the responses of the subject by presenting to him a number of carefully prepared situations in such a way that the form of response to each situation is predetermined. Thus, instead of asking the subject to write out his opinions or to answer questions in his own way, a list of carefully prepared statements for acceptance or rejection is submitted from which the subject is asked to select one alternative which most nearly expresses his own opinion or attitude. This kind of device makes for greater objectivity, since, once the questionnaire has been constructed, the investigator is not called upon to evaluate a great variety of responses expressed in all sorts of different ways. The score given to each response item will depend upon the particular technique which is used in the construction of the questionnaire. In the case of the very simple techniques, like the 'Cross Out' or 'X-O' technique and the 'Yes/No' technique, the score of the subject consists simply of the number of items which he crosses out in a list of significant words or the number of affirmative or negative answers which he gives to a list of questions dealing with controversial topics. Most of the techniques, however, make use of some form of ranking, or scaling, the statements which are submitted to the subject so that the score can be calculated from the rank or scale values of the statements which are endorsed by the subject. This procedure is particularly applicable to the measurement of opinions and attitudes, since we are not so much interested in discovering whether an individual's opinion or attitude is favourable or unfavourable with regard to a certain situation, but to what degree it is favourable or unfavourable. The wide individual variations which exist in opinion and attitude can only be brought to light when the questionnaire provides a graduated series of statements, ranging from one extreme to the other, and when the statements, so graded, are given a value according to their position in the series.

In constructing such a series, the main problem lies in the determination of the values to be given to each item. For this purpose, the simplest method is to rank different degrees of the same statement in a number of steps or gradations from the most

to the least favourable, and to give each statement a rank value according to its position in the series. Thus, in such a multiple-choice statement as 'All: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives should be allowed to have the vote on the same terms as the Europeans', each of the five steps could be given an arbitrary scale value ranging from 5 to 1, or from 'plus' 2 through zero to 'minus' 2. A less arbitrary method of ranking statements was that first used by Allport and Hartman.¹ In this experiment, thirteen opinions on prohibition ranging from those that were strongly favourable to those that were strongly unfavourable, and including a number of intermediate opinions, were ranked by six judges according to their estimated degrees of 'wetness' or of 'dryness'. By combining the results of the rankings, the opinions were engaged in a rank-order series in which the position of each opinion in the series was determined by its composite rank value. In applying this 'scale', the subject was required to select the one statement that most nearly expressed his own opinion and which, therefore, represented his position on a scale of thirteen step-intervals or units. 'This 'order of merit' method for determining the position of an item in a series had already been widely used for determining the relative merits of advertisements, of handwriting specimens, of children's drawings, but its application to the construction of a scale for measuring individual variations in opinion was an entirely new departure. As a scale, however, it is open to the fatal objection that the step-intervals are arbitrary units determined by the rank orders of the statements. There is no guarantee, therefore, that the units are the same for different parts of the scale, or that the distance separating any two opinions on one part of the scale is comparable with the distance separating any other two opinions on another part of the scale. All that a simple ranking method like this can do is to design a value to an opinion according to its position in a rank-order series, but never in terms of the common unit of a scale. Until such a common unit of measurement is found, the scores given to individual variations in opinions and attitudes cannot be directly compared with one another in any strict quantitative sense.'²

It was in order to overcome this difficulty and to find a satisfactory unit of measurement that Thurstone devised a variety of different techniques in which various psycho-physical methods were successively utilized for the purpose of constructing a psycho-

¹ F. H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, 'Measurement and Motivation of atypical opinion in a certain group', *The American Political Science Review*, Nov. 1925. See further, 'The Measurement of Opinion', by L. L. Thurstone, *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. xxi, 4, 1928.

² E. L. Thorndike, *The Measurement of Intelligence*, chap. 1.

logical scale for measuring opinions and attitudes.¹ In the classical psycho-physical experiment, the stimulus or *R*-variable is correlated with the sensation or *S*-variable when a constant relation is found to exist between the two which is expressed by the Weber-Fechner law. The unit of the *S*-variable is taken to be the just noticeable difference between two sensory magnitudes which, however, can only be represented by the corresponding difference between the physical stimuli of the *R*-variable. When we are dealing with psychological variables, or social stimuli, such as the excellence of handwriting specimens or the favourableness-unfavourableness of an opinion, there is no corresponding objective or physical variable on to which differences in the subjective or psychological variable can be projected. Yet the differences in the latter variable are as real as in any sensory variable, for we have no hesitation in judging that one handwriting specimen is more or less excellent than another, or that one opinion is more or less favourable than another, with the same confidence that we judge one weight to be lighter or heavier than another, or one grey to be more or less bright than another.

Since there is no objective standard by means of which we can determine whether one opinion is more or less favourable than another, or measure the amount by which one opinion differs from another, the only standard available is whether one statement is judged to be more or less favourable than another and the relative frequency of such judgements. Thus, if 50 per cent. of the judges regard opinion *A* as representing a more favourable attitude than opinion *B*, while 50 per cent. of the judges regard opinion *B* as representing a more favourable attitude than opinion *A*, then we may assume that there is no apparent difference between the two attitudes, that is, that they are identical. In the same way, if 90 per cent. of the judges regard opinion *A* as more favourable than opinion *B*, while only 60 per cent. of the judges regard opinion *C* as more favourable than opinion *D*, then we may assume that the apparent differences between the two attitudes represented by the first pair of opinions is greater than the apparent difference between the two attitudes represented by the second pair of opinions. Measured in terms of a common unit, the distance between opinion *A* and opinion *B* would be appreciably greater than the distance between opinion *C* and opinion *D*. And this method of determining the existence of greater or less (apparent) difference,

¹ L. L. Thurstone, 'Attitudes can be measured', *The American Journal of Sociology*, vol. xxxiii, 4, 1928; 'The Measurement of Opinion', *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. xxii, 4, 1928; 'A Study of Nationality Preferences', *The Journal of General Psychology*, vol. 1, 3-4, 1928. L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*, 1929.

or of no (apparent) difference at all, between attitudes by means of the proportion of judges who actually do judge one opinion to be more or less favourable than another, will apply to any two opinions taken from any part of the attitude-continuum. Thus, if two opinions from the favourable end are differentiated by the same proportion of judges as two opinions from the unfavourable end, then the difference between the two attitudes in the one case is equal to the difference between the two attitudes in the other case. On the assumption that equally often noticed differences between psychological stimuli are equal or psychologically equivalent, it becomes possible to construct a scale of opinions for measuring differences in attitude, in which the scale-value of any opinion is directly comparable with the scale-value of any other opinion in terms of a common unit.

For the purpose of constructing a scale of opinions which will be based upon a satisfactory psychologically determined unit, we require both a large number of judges as well as a large number of opinions. The greater the number of judges, the greater becomes the reliability of the consensus of judgements. Since each subject who acts as judge only performs the operation once, a very much larger number of opinions can be submitted for judgement. Again, since an unknown number of the opinions may be ambiguous or irrelevant, or coincide with one another, we require a large initial number of opinions so that there will be a sufficient number of opinions left in the end for making up the scale and securing a fairly uniform distribution. Objective criteria have been devised for eliminating ambiguous or irrelevant opinions, but the question remains as to the extent to which the attitudes of the judges themselves affect their interpretations of the statements and their judgement of the tendency of the opinions. Since the judges are not required to express their own agreement or disagreement with any opinion, but merely to judge the degree to which the opinion represents a favourable or unfavourable attitude, the answer to this question may seriously affect the value of the method. Experiment, however, has shown that the attitudes of the judges do not appreciably affect their judgements, and this conclusion has been confirmed by further experimental evidence which will be brought forward in the next chapter.

According to Thurstone, the ideal unit for the construction of a scale of opinions would be derived from the results of judgements in which the method of constant stimuli is used in its complete form, that is, in which every opinion is used in turn as a standard as in the method of paired comparison. This procedure, however, becomes impossible in practice, since the large number of opinions

would require an excessive number of judgements to be made.

For 100 statements of opinion, for example, no less than $\frac{100 \times 99}{2}$

or 4,950 judgements would have to be made by each subject. He suggests, therefore, the application of the method of equal-appearing intervals according to which the subjects are required to sort the statements into a limited number of piles arranged in a series such that the difference in attitude represented by the opinions in any two piles, adjacent to each other in the series, should appear equal to the difference in attitude represented by the opinions in any other two piles, adjacent to each other in the series. The unit of measurement in that case is simply the equal-appearing difference or distance separating the piles of opinions from one another. How this procedure works out in practice, and what its defects are, will be dealt with in the following chapter.

4. *Limitations of Measurement*

The limitations imposed upon the measurement of attitude by means of the questionnaire method may be conveniently classified into two main groups, namely, those that are the result of the verbal form of the instrument, and those that are the result of the structure of the instrument. In the former group, for example, is included the obvious limitation that we are not measuring the attitude directly but only indirectly by means of one of its possible expressions. This limitation applies equally to the measurement of any psychological variable whatever, but in the case of the questionnaire method it appears to be particularly striking owing to the fact that we are dealing only with the expression of attitude in verbal form. The nature of this restriction, however, and the extent to which it imposes limitations upon measurement, must be carefully interpreted, if we are not to fall into the errors of those who, with a bias in favour of the study of objective behaviour, have been inclined to dismiss the questionnaire method as having little, or no, value for scientific purposes. As we have seen, the divergence between the verbal expression of an attitude and the attitude itself may be no more serious than the divergence in the case of some other form of expression, such as overt behaviour. But it is probably much more variable and much more easily influenced by a large number of chance factors, since the meaning or stimulus value of words is affected to such a large extent by their context. The verbal form of the questionnaire, therefore, carries with it a great many implications which will vary to an unknown degree for different subjects. The statements of the

questionnaire are 'loaded' by the very fact that they are verbal. As psychological stimuli, therefore, they cannot be regarded as the same stimuli for different subjects.

From these considerations, we must conclude that there will always be a margin of error in any measurement by means of the questionnaire method. But this fact does not justify the conclusion that the method, because of the limitations imposed by its form, can never measure the individual's 'real' attitude, if by a 'real' attitude we mean an attitude divorced from any and every situation in which it comes into play. In that sense, an individual's attitude, 'as it really is' is a barren abstraction, since we are only concerned with an attitude in so far as it affects the individual's response in a given situation. In such a case, however, we are entitled to say that the individual's attitude in a specified situation, and only in that situation, is being measured by means of the questionnaire. There may be a difference of opinion as to whether the kind of attitude brought into play by that kind of situation is worth while measuring, or whether it will add to our knowledge either of attitudes or of overt behaviour. The answers to these questions will depend, partly upon the importance which we attach to the role of language in social behaviour, and partly upon the results which are obtained by actually putting the questionnaire method to the test. For the amount of correlation present between verbal expression and overt expression of attitude, we must turn to the evidence of experimental investigation for an answer. There is no doubt, however, that, whatever the relation between the verbal and the overt expression of attitude may be in the individual, when it is a question of comparing the distribution of attitudes in different groups, a very definite relation, as we shall see later, can be demonstrated between the known attitude of the group and its verbal expression in the questionnaire. In this respect, the questionnaire may be compared with the group test of intelligence which, while its results are less certain than those of the individual test, as a measure of the intelligence of any given individual does bring to light significant differences in the distribution of intelligence between comparable groups.

But even when the importance of the study of the verbal expression of attitude is admitted, the admission is often qualified by the statement that the questionnaire situation is too unreal or too artificial to secure a satisfactory expression of attitude. Paper-and-pencil methods are too superficial to do justice to attitudes as they function in real life. But these alleged limitations of the questionnaire as a method would apply equally to the method of the intelligence test, and are based either upon *a priori* considerations

or upon misinterpretations and exaggerations of the aims and claims of the questionnaire method.¹ To sum up, the method does not profess to measure the individual's 'real' attitude, but only his attitude in a given kind of situation. The method does not profess to measure the individual's attitude as it may find expression in his overt behaviour, but only in so far as it finds expression through his responses to verbal stimuli. The method does not profess to be able to predict what the overt behaviour of any given individual will be in another kind of situation. But it does hold that, for its kind of situation, individual differences in response are significant and that, when groups are compared, differences in the distribution of attitudes, where they exist, are correlated with differences in group behaviour. It also holds that, for the study of social attitudes, the verbal expressions are of great importance in a social psychology which is not biased in favour of an unduly narrow interpretation of behaviour, but which finds room for the interplay of those inner, conscious, or subjective attitudes that can only take place through the medium of language.

The most effective application of the questionnaire is just to these attitudes which can, and do, readily find expression in language. But, for that very reason, it is clear that it cannot be applied to those un verbalized, or unverbalizable, attitudes or to those obscure and unconscious aspects which form the background of every conscious attitude, and which so powerfully affect its operation in everyday life. If we assume that the same attitude may exist at different levels of the mind, then it is the higher, conscious, or more superficial layers, as contrasted with the deeper, unconscious, or more fundamental layers, of the attitude, that will be brought into play directly by the questionnaire situation. It is this limitation that may account for the reluctance which many feel in accepting the results of a questionnaire as a reliable index of the individual's 'real' attitude, and which may explain, in part, some of the discrepancy which is found to exist between the verbal and the overt expression of an attitude. When confronted by the questionnaire situation, the individual's attitude assumes a more verbalized or rationalized form, and though his responses may be true in that situation, they are only a partial expression of his whole attitude. On the other hand, when confronted by a situation in which overt responses are demanded, and

¹ Compare G. and L. B. Murphy, *Experimental Social Psychology*: 'After all, a man's categorical agreement or disagreement with a rather strongly stated opinion about Chinese, or Jews, &c., is in everyday life regarded (if the man be sincere) as a significant part of his behavior. There seems to be no reason why this behavior should suddenly become non-significant when it is made the subject of careful inquiry' (p. 626).

where there is no opportunity for a reflective choice, such as is afforded by the questionnaire situation, the unconscious, non-rational elements of his attitude are more likely to find expression in his behaviour. In such a case, what the individual does and what he quite sincerely regards as a genuine expression of his attitude in so far as it is framed in words, may not agree with one another.

Another set of limitations of the questionnaire method is based upon the structure of the instrument itself. When use is made of a scale, we can only measure differences in amount of one variable at a time. Thus, when a scale has been constructed for the purpose of measuring differences in attitude for and against the native, all other opinions or attitudes which may have anything to do with the native become irrelevant. There may be differences of opinion, for example, about the effect upon the native of contact with Western civilization, or about the relative advantages of direct and indirect rule, or about the value of native practices and institutions, but in so far as these do not bear upon differences in attitude for and against the native, they cannot be dealt with by the scale in question. Since a scale can only provide us with quantitative descriptions, the statements of opinion which constitute the attitude scale must be regarded only from that point of view, and all qualitative differences between them must be ignored.¹

Finally, the quantitative differences of attitude are only such as are revealed by the specific items of the scale. Every statement of opinion must be either accepted or rejected as it stands in the scale. A subject may prefer a statement which is differently phrased, or he may be prepared to endorse a statement with qualifications, but since any such change would immediately affect the scale-value of the statement to an unknown extent, he is obliged to choose between the statements in the rigid form in which they appear in the scale. This may lead, in some cases, to the acceptance of statements which do not completely express his attitude as well as to the rejection of statements which express his attitude imperfectly.

¹ Thurstone and Chave, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

IX

CONSTRUCTION OF A SCALE FOR MEASURING ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NATIVE

1. *Procedure*

THE first task in the construction of a scale of opinions for measuring attitudes towards the native is the collection of a large number of statements of opinion which represent as wide a range as possible of attitudes, both favourable and unfavourable, towards the native. So far as possible, only those opinions which appeared to represent a current attitude, in favour of or against the native, were included. Statements were selected from those with which the experimenter himself was familiar, and other sources such as books, press reports, debates, lectures, and conversations were made use of. Finally, a list of 100 statements expressive of as many points of view and angles of approach—social, political, economic, educational—as possible, was compiled. Where an opinion was regarded as highly representative, it was expressed in a more and in a less extreme form, so as to provide the opportunity for its inclusion in the scale in one or other form. Other opinions were stated in alternative forms for the same reason. Each statement was worded so as to express only one main idea, and the statement was made as concise and as unambiguous as possible. The main difficulty experienced was in finding opinions that ranged over the intermediate variations of attitude towards the native. Unless the scale is to fall into two parts, there must be a continuous transition in the scale-values of the opinions from one extreme to the other extreme of the attitude variable. All, or nearly all, the opinions dealt with 'live' issues, and they were thrown into a personal form of expression so as to make them representative of some particular individual's personal attitude.

Stencilled copies of the list of statements were made and bundles of 100 slips, each slip containing one statement, were prepared. The slips in each bundle were arranged in a random order so that it was extremely unlikely that any two subjects who took part in the experiment ever read the slips in the same order. With each bundle, an additional eleven slips, lettered *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K*, respectively, were provided. These slips were to serve the purpose of marking off the step-intervals or units of the scale. On slip *A* appeared the statement: 'This pile consists of the statements which are most strongly in favour of the native, i.e. most strongly

pro-native.' On slip *K* appeared the statement: 'This pile consists of the statements which are most strongly against the native, i.e. most strongly anti-native.' On slip *F*, the middle slip, appeared the statement: 'This pile consists of the statements which are neutral.' All the other lettered slips were left blank. Each bundle, containing all the slips, was placed in a large envelope together with a sheet of instructions. At the beginning of the experiment each subject received one such envelope and the experiment began by the experimenter reading through the sheet of instructions, with additional explanations where necessary, in order to ensure that the subjects were quite clear about what they were being asked to do. Subjects were taken in groups of not more than twenty at a time, and worked in pairs on opposite sides of a table on which the sorting could be carried out conveniently. So far as possible, conditions were kept uniform and the subjects encouraged to do their best in following out the instructions. Only one individual out of over 200 subjects who took part in the experiment found it impossible to carry out the instructions. All the subjects were university students in their second, third, or fourth year, and approximately 75 per cent. of them were attending courses in the Department of Philosophy and Psychology.

The sheet of instructions, handed to each subject, read as follows:

Directions for Sorting Slips

1. You are being given 100 slips of paper on each of which you will find a statement about the native and/or his relation to the white man. Each statement is to be regarded as expressing the personal opinion of some particular individual. You will find that the statements range from those that are highly favourable, to those that are highly unfavourable, towards the native.

2. As the first step in the construction of a scale for measuring the attitudes of white people in this country towards the native, you are being asked to sort the 100 statements into eleven piles. For this purpose, first place the eleven slips with letters on them, *A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, K*, in regular order from left to right. On slip *A* put those statements which appear to you to be most strongly in favour of the native. On slip *F* put those statements which appear to be neutral, neither for nor against the native. On slip *K* put those statements which appear to you to be most strongly against, or unfavourable towards, the native. On the remaining slips distribute the statements according to the degree to which they appear favourable or unfavourable towards the native.

3. This means that, when you have finished sorting the statements, you will have them arranged in eleven piles, ranging from one extreme (strongly pro-native) through a middle point (neutral) to the other

extreme (strongly anti-native), together with varying degrees of pro-native and anti-native statements in between.

4. In order to secure as high a degree of success as possible in sorting the statements, do your best to observe the following precautions:

- (a) Before you start sorting, first read through a number of statements taken at random from the bundle before you. This will give you some idea of the different kinds of statement with which you will have to deal.
- (b) When you start the sorting, try to regard each statement as objectively as possible. Don't allow yourself to be affected by your agreement or disagreement with the statement. Remember that you are *not* being asked to approve or disapprove of the statement, but to *judge* to what degree it expresses an opinion which is favourable or unfavourable towards the native.
- (c) Read through each statement carefully so as to be sure that you get its meaning. Then decide to what pile it belongs and put it in that pile. If you hesitate too long in making up your mind, you may get confused.
- (d) After you have finished the sorting, read through the statements in each pile once again, for you may want to transfer statements from one pile to another in order to get a final and satisfactory sorting.
- (e) Don't try to get the same number of statements in each pile, for they are not evenly distributed, and don't pay any attention to the numbers on the slips. They are code numbers and have nothing to do with the sorting.
- (f) You ought to take from 40 to 50 minutes to complete the sorting.

5. When you have finished the sorting, clip the slips in each pile together, placing the letter slip on top. Please fill in the information at the bottom of the instruction sheet (name, date, your year) and return together with the statements.

The results of subjects who had placed more than twenty statements in any one pile were, as a rule, rejected, on the ground that such subjects had probably not exercised enough care in following out the instructions or had done the sorting in a perfunctory manner. The number of subjects whose results were made use of was thus reduced to 200, the number of rejections amounting, approximately, to 10 per cent. of the total number of subjects.

The assumption underlying the above procedure is that the subject, in carrying out the instructions, will so arrange the statements on the different piles corresponding to the lettered slips that the step-interval or difference in degree of pro- or anti-native tendency between any two adjacent piles will appear to be equal to the step-interval between any other two adjacent piles. For that reason, the lettered slips which lie between the extremes and the

- middle slip are deliberately left blank so as to encourage the subject to regard them simply as marking off equal distances on a linear continuum or scale. If some sort of description were to be attached to each of the intermediate slips, then the subject's judgement of the pro- or anti-native tendency of any statement would be affected, or controlled, by an arbitrary description and not by the comparison with the pro- or anti-native tendency of the statements in adjacent piles which is the whole essence of the method. This argument is valid, but does not dispose of the difficulty that there is no guarantee that the subject, in following the instructions, has sorted the statements in such a way that the shifts of opinion, or intervals in attitude, from one pile to the adjacent one, appear to him to be equal to one another. The evidence of introspection, on the contrary, seems to show that the subject, when engaged in sorting, proceeds by a method of ranking. A statement, for example, is judged to be favourable or unfavourable; if very strongly favourable, it is placed in pile *A*; if less strongly favourable, in pile *B*; if favourable, perhaps in pile *C* or pile *D*; if only mildly favourable, perhaps in pile *D* or pile *E*. And the same procedure applies to statements that are judged to be unfavourable. We certainly get the statements sorted into piles that are relative to one another with regard to their pro- or anti-native tendency, but it does not follow that such piles are regarded by the subject who does the sorting as marking off equal distances on a scale rather than as representing successive positions in a rank-order series. But, in any case, the further treatment of the data remains unaffected, whichever way the subject happens to regard the letter slips or piles, since the method of determining the (scale) values of the statements of opinion is a purely objective one.

One further difficulty, arising out of the procedure, remains to be mentioned. There appears to be a tendency on the part of subjects to place statements more frequently in the end piles and in the middle pile than in the intermediate piles. This leads to a decrease in the intervals between the former and neighbouring piles and a corresponding increase in the intervals between the latter and neighbouring piles.¹ Hence, the scale-values of the statements, though they may all appear to be in terms of the same common unit, will actually be in terms of a unit which varies to an unknown degree for different parts of the scale, being probably slightly larger for the intermediate portions of the scale and slightly smaller for the ends and the middle portion of the scale. The extent to which this heaping-up of statements takes place may be seen from the following results. Thus of the 20,000 slips that were sorted by

¹ D. Droba, 'Methods of Measuring Attitude', *Psych. Bull.*, vol. xxix, 1932.

200 subjects in this experiment (each subject having to sort 100 statements),

2,030 or 10.1 per cent.	were placed in pile	<i>A</i>
1,870 or 9.3	" " "	<i>B</i>
1,526 or 7.6	" " "	<i>C</i>
1,376 or 6.9	" " "	<i>D</i>
1,578 or 7.9	" " "	<i>E</i>
2,074 or 10.4	" " "	<i>F</i>
1,776 or 8.9	" " "	<i>G</i>
1,578 or 7.9	" " "	<i>H</i>
1,792 or 9.0	" " "	<i>I</i>
2,172 or 10.9	" " "	<i>J</i>
2,228 or 11.1	" " "	<i>K</i>

These results may be explained on the ground that the end and the middle piles exercise a stronger attraction on the subject than do the intermediate piles, since they occupy the most conspicuous positions in the series. And the fact that the three lettered slips, corresponding to these piles, are provided with a description while the rest of the lettered slips are left blank would add to the effect. There is, therefore, a constant tendency, especially on the part of the less conscientious subject, to follow the path of least resistance and to cut short the labour of judging the finer shades of pro- or anti-native attitude by placing the statements in the end and middle piles. On the other hand, there is no reason to believe that the statements of opinion are themselves evenly distributed over all the piles. The results, tabulated above, show that 41.8 per cent. of the statements were placed in 'favourable' piles, while 47.8 per cent. were placed in 'unfavourable' piles—a difference of 1,166 statements. This difference can be accounted for on the assumption that the original list of 100 statements contained more unfavourable than favourable statements. In the same way, the piling-up of statements, especially in the end piles, would be due, in part, to the fact that the more extreme statements, both favourable and unfavourable, occurred more frequently in the original list.

2. *Determination of Scale-values*¹

The first step in dealing with the data obtained from the sortings of the 200 subjects consists in tabulating the number of times each of the 100 statements occurs in each of the eleven piles. The frequencies are then added to one another so as to give an accumulative frequency distribution for every statement from pile *A* (containing the most favourable statements) to pile *K* (containing the most unfavourable statements); and the frequency proportion

¹ For details and illustrations, see Thurstone and Chave, *op. cit.*, chap. III.

of each pile to the total distribution is determined. A cumulative frequency graph for each statement is then plotted directly from the frequency distribution for that statement—the *X*-axis representing the step-intervals or units of the scale and the *Y*-axis the accumulative frequencies in terms of per cent. The scale value of the statement is taken to be the 50th percentile or median point of the distribution, and can readily be determined from the curve by finding the point at which it intersects the 50 per cent. level. The scale-value is the point on the base line which corresponds to the intersection. Thus the position of any statement on the scale as determined by its scale-value is such that 50 per cent. of the judges who did the sorting placed it to the left of that position, that is, regarded it as more favourable, while 50 per cent. of the judges placed it to the right of that position or regarded it as less favourable. In other words, according to the consensus of opinion of a large number of judges, deviations from the scale-value which is actually assigned to the statement are as likely to occur in the one direction as they are in the other. The scale-value of a statement has, as a rule, to be obtained by interpolation, so that it may sometimes be found desirable, in order to obtain the most satisfactory scale-value, to smooth the curve slightly in order to eliminate minor irregularities.

In addition to the scale-value, the lower and upper quartile-values of the statement are also determined from the curve. Having obtained the quartile-values, we can determine the inter-quartile range or *Q*-value of the statement in terms of the same scale unit which was used for determining its scale-value. The *Q*-value is important since it provides an objective measure of the ambiguity of a statement. The larger the *Q*-value the more ambiguous is the statement or the greater the tendency of the middle 50 per cent. of the judges to sort the statement into a large number of different piles. On the other hand, if there is a large measure of agreement among the judges with regard to the degree of attitude expressed by a statement and its position on the scale, then its tendency to 'spread' will be small and it will have a low *Q*-value.

By eliminating all those statements which had a high *Q*-value, and by selecting statements in such a way that all the different portions of the scale were represented as uniformly as possible, the original list was reduced to forty-five statements. This tentative scale was then applied to several hundred subjects, who were instructed to endorse those statements with which they found themselves in agreement. The results were tabulated in order to find the number of times each statement was endorsed. A number of statements was considered by inspection to be irrelevant or not

sufficiently indicative since they appeared to be endorsed irrespective of their position on the scale. Such statements were eliminated on the ground that they did not serve to discriminate effectively between subjects whose attitudes to the native might differ widely. A certain amount of readjustment was thus found necessary in order to maintain a fair distribution of the items, so that in its final form the scale, as used in the present investigation, consisted of thirty statements. Before going on to deal any further with the scale itself, we propose in the following section to consider the reliability of the obtained scale-values, and to raise the question of the reliability of the procedure which has been followed in the construction of the scale.

3. *The Reliability of the Procedure*

The great merit of the method which has been used for the determination of the scale-values of the various statements as described in the previous section is the purely objective way in which it is applied. Given results such as those which are yielded by sorting on the part of the judges, then we know that the scale-values obtained can only vary within very narrow limits, since they depend upon the application of a very simple method. But the formal nature of this method is in striking contrast to the subjective character of the processes underlying the results to which it is applied. Since these results were directly derived from the subjective and, in many cases, far from reliable judgements of a number of individuals who were required to follow certain prescribed directions, the question might be raised to what degree the results obtained, and hence the scale-values based upon them, are trustworthy or reliable. We may, for example, wish to determine the reliability of the scale-values themselves which have been determined by the results of a particular group. Is the group large enough for the scale-values to be regarded as sufficiently reliable? What would be the effect upon the scale-values of increasing the size of the group? But the more fundamental question of the reliability of the whole procedure itself cannot be answered until the scale-values obtained from the results of two groups who differ widely in mental background and attitude have been compared. Under the circumstances, we want to know to what extent the procedure is affected by factors which are either irrelevant or which cannot be controlled, since the mental background and general attitude of the subjects who act as judges should not appreciably affect the scale-values of the statements themselves. According to the directions, the statements are sorted in terms of the attitudes which they express and not in terms of the attitudes

of the subjects who sort them. If the attitudes of the subjects who did the sorting seriously affected the results, then, in spite of the objectivity of the method by means of which the scale-values are determined, those scale-values would be merely the reflection of the attitudes of a particular group. On the other hand, if the margin of error of an obtained set of scale-values is small, if they are not significantly affected by increasing the size of the group, and if the results obtained from two heterogeneous groups yield scale-values which show a high measure of agreement, then we may conclude that they, as well as the procedure followed in arriving at them, are satisfactory.

Some of the data required for an answer to the questions raised above are presented in the following table.

TABLE I

Scale No.	Europeans (200)	Q	Europeans (100)	Q	Bantu (100)	Q	Total (300)	Q
11	0.8	1.8	0.6	1.4	0.9	1.9	0.8	1.8
4	1.1	1.8	1.0	1.6	0.7	1.2	0.9	1.6
21	1.2	1.5	1.2	1.5	1.0	1.6	1.2	1.6
5	1.3	2.0	1.3	1.6	1.2	2.6	1.3	2.0
18	1.4	2.2	1.1	1.7	1.8	2.8	1.6	2.3
19	1.7	2.0	1.9	2.0	1.7	2.4	1.8	2.1
28	2.2	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.4	1.6	2.0	1.7
10	2.6	2.0	2.4	1.4	2.5	2.2	2.6	2.1
25	2.8	1.8	2.5	1.7	2.1	2.3	2.6	2.0
3	3.1	2.4	3.0	2.0	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.5
22	3.8	2.5	3.5	2.4	3.7	3.2	3.7	2.5
23	4.4	1.3	4.5	0.9	4.2	2.2	4.4	1.7
20	4.8	1.2	4.8	0.9	4.9	1.5	4.8	1.2
27	5.1	1.9	5.0	1.5	2.8	3.5	4.7	2.8
14	5.4	0.6	5.4	0.4	5.3	1.0	5.3	0.6
12	5.6	1.0	5.2	1.2	6.2	1.4	5.8	1.5
26	6.2	1.9	6.3	1.7	5.8	1.7	6.0	1.7
9	6.5	1.8	6.7	1.5	6.8	2.3	6.6	1.9
24	6.7	2.2	6.5	2.1	5.8	2.7	6.4	2.4
13	7.5	2.2	7.4	2.1	9.0	2.4	8.0	2.2
7	7.8	2.0	7.8	1.8	8.1	2.7	7.8	2.2
29	8.2	2.2	8.5	2.2	9.0	2.3	8.5	2.4
17	8.4	2.3	8.2	2.3	8.7	2.4	8.5	2.4
15	8.6	1.8	8.5	1.7	9.2	2.1	8.8	2.0
30	8.8	2.1	9.1	2.0	8.8	2.7	8.8	2.2
16	9.4	1.6	9.4	1.6	10.0	2.0	9.5	1.8
8	9.7	2.0	9.8	1.8	10.0	1.0	9.8	2.0
2	10.2	1.6	10.6	1.2	10.4	2.2	10.3	1.8
1	10.3	2.0	10.5	1.2	10.8	0.8	10.5	1.4
6	10.6	0.8	10.5	1.2	10.9	0.6	10.7	1.0
Av.	5.54	1.81	5.31	1.60	5.55	2.07	5.56	1.93

The first column of Table I contains the numbers of the statements as they appear in the experimental scale; the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth columns contain the scale-values based upon the

results of a group of 200 European subjects, of the first half of the preceding group or 100 European subjects, of a group of 100 Bantu subjects, and of the total (300) European and Bantu group, respectively; the third, fifth, seventh, and ninth columns in each case the Q -values of the preceding set of scale-values. The values of the statements in the scale which was used in this investigation were based upon the results of the group of 200 European subjects as they appear in the second column.

The reliability of the scale-values which appear in the experimental scale can be determined directly from the Q -values. The average Q -value of the thirty statements is 1.81. Since the Q -value is twice the quartile deviation or the difference between the lower and the upper quartile (Q_1 and Q_3), the average quartile deviation is $\frac{1.81}{2}$ or 0.91. The scale-values were found by taking the median values of the distributions in every case; so, using the formula: $P.E._{(median)} = \frac{5}{4} \frac{Q}{N}$, we find that on the average the probable error of the scale-values is approximately 0.079. This probable error is very small, but in view of the fact that one of the reasons for selecting statements to make up the scale was their low Q -values it is not unexpected.

The question was raised whether an increase in the number of subjects who acted as judges would bring about any significant changes in the scale-values. An answer to this question may be found by comparing the scale-values derived from the results of the group of 100 (European) subjects with the scale-values derived from the results of the same group when it had been increased to 200 subjects. The scale-values in question appear in the second and fourth columns of Table I. The average size of the differences between the two sets of scale-values is 0.15. Only one of these differences is statistically significant, namely, the difference in the case of the statement, Scale No. 12. For the group of 100 subjects the scale-value is 5.2 and for the groups of 200 subjects the scale-value is 5.6. The $P.E._{(diff.)}$ is approximately 0.087, so that the difference of 0.4 is more than four times its probable error. The statement in question reads: 'I am not interested in the native or in his relations to the white man because I think that in the end economic factors will decide his fate.' From the lack of any significant difference (except one) between the results of 100 and of 200 subjects, we may assume that increasing the number of subjects still further is hardly likely to give rise to any appreciable changes in the scale-values.

We now come to the comparison of the results of two hetero-

geneous groups. For purposes of comparison we may take two groups of equal size consisting of 100 Europeans and 100 Bantu. The Bantu group who acted as subjects in this experiment consisted of a small number (20) of teachers and other educated natives, who were members of the Bantu Men's Social Centre at Johannesburg, where the experiment was carried out; the remainder were students of the Fort Hare Native College at Lovedale, Cape Province, where the sorting was carried out under the personal supervision of Dr. O. C. Jensen, a member of the teaching staff. He reported that the subjects took well over an hour to complete the sorting—a fact that was also confirmed by the performance of the subjects in Johannesburg. More difficulty was also experienced in 'putting the directions across' and in seeing that they were properly followed. In no case, however, was any assistance, direct or indirect, given to the subjects in carrying out the sorting.

The slower rate of working on the part of the Bantu as compared with the Europeans can readily be accounted for on the ground of greater novelty of the situation, and greater difficulty in grasping the meaning of the statements that had to be sorted. Although the language of the statements was perfectly familiar to the Bantu subjects, it was not their home language. The slower rate may also have been due to the alleged fact that, when the Bantu is allowed to take his own time, he works at a more leisurely pace than the European. The greater length of time taken to complete the sorting did not, however, mean that the results were more reliable, since the consistently higher Q-values as given in Table I show that the statements were found to be more ambiguous by the Bantu group than by the European group. Thus it was not found possible to reject the results of those subjects who had placed more than twenty statements in one pile, as was done in the case of the European subjects. But a small number of results was rejected where, say, 25–30 or more statements were placed in one pile. On the whole, the task appears to have been well within the scope of the Bantu subjects, and their results, therefore, are well worth taking into consideration, not only for their intrinsic interest, but also for the light which they shed upon the trustworthiness of the procedure.

We may take it for granted that the whole mental background, past experience, and present outlook and attitude with regard to interracial issues on the part of the Bantu group differ widely in many, if not most, respects from those of the European group. A comparison of the scale-values obtained from the results of the Bantu subjects with the scale-values obtained from the results of the European subjects ought, therefore, to provide a most searching

test of the procedure, since many, if not most, of the irrelevant and uncontrollable factors are present in both the two groups of subjects.

The scale-values obtained from the results of the two groups in question are given in the fourth and sixth columns of Table I. The average size of the differences between the two sets of scale-values is 0.47. The probable error of the scale-values of the European group is approximately 0.100, and for those of the Bantu group is approximately 0.130. There is, therefore, a marked difference in the reliability of the scale-values in favour of the European as compared with the Bantu group—a difference which can be accounted for by the fact that the statements were found to be less ambiguous by the European subjects than by the Bantu subjects.

When we turn to the differences between the scale-values of the statements, we find that only five differences are statistically significant, that is, more than four times their probable error. Of the five statements, two are regarded by the Bantu group as expressing a more favourable attitude towards the native and three are regarded as expressing a more unfavourable attitude towards the native. The statements in question are as follows:

Scale No. 27, European S-value 5.0, Bantu S-value 2.8.

'Until the native has been given more time and more opportunity of showing what he is capable of doing, I think that it is foolish to try to judge him.'

Scale No. 28, European S-value 2.2, Bantu S-value 1.4.

'I admire the native for his many good qualities and would like to see him given an opportunity of developing them.'

Scale No. 13, European S-value 7.4, Bantu S-value 9.0.

'I do not think that we ought to help the native until all the white people who are in need have been helped.'

Scale No. 12, European S-value 5.2, Bantu S-value 6.2.

'I am not interested in the native or in his relations to the white man because I think that in the end economic factors will decide his fate.'

Scale No. 6, European S-value 10.5, Bantu S-value 10.9.

'I consider that the native is more like an animal than a human being.'

The difference in point of view between the European group and this particular group of Bantu subjects, all of whom are trying to reach and maintain themselves at a higher level of civilization, with regard to the opinions and attitudes expressed in the above statements, must undoubtedly be very great. It is not surprising

that it should find expression in the scale-values of the statements. The surprising thing is the very substantial measure of agreement, or lack of significant differences, between the scale-values derived from the results of two such heterogeneous groups. When we bear in mind that the statements throughout express typically European attitudes and opinions, we appear to be justified in concluding that the procedure followed in the construction of the scale does yield satisfactorily reliable results.

4. *The Scale and its Application*

The experimental scale in the form in which it was applied to groups of subjects for measuring their attitudes towards the native is reproduced below. The scale-values of the statements are those which appear in the second column of Table 1. In the scale itself the statements appear in random order. During the course of the investigation it was found necessary to prepare an Afrikaans version of the scale in order to measure the attitudes of a single group to whom, for a variety of reasons, the original version in English could not be applied. The very greatest care was taken to ensure as close an equivalence as possible in mode of expression and in meaning between the two versions which were submitted in turn to two authorities for their approval—one, a professor of Afrikaans at a predominantly English-speaking institution, and the other, a professor of educational psychology at a purely Afrikaans-speaking institution. It is not suggested that the Afrikaans version of the English original is merely an alternative form of the same scale. Any translation, however successful, must necessarily introduce changes in the original which may affect the scale-values to an unknown degree. But where, as in this case, it was a question either of measuring the attitudes of a purely Afrikaans-speaking group by means of a scale in their own language or of not measuring their attitudes at all, other considerations had to yield to practical convenience, since neither the time nor the opportunity could be found to construct a second scale *ab initio* in Afrikaans. The results, therefore, obtained from the application of the Afrikaans version of the scale must be accepted with a certain amount of qualification as being, perhaps, not strictly comparable with the results of the English version. The Afrikaans translation of the scale, as used in this investigation, is also reproduced below.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE NATIVE

This is an experimental study of the distribution of attitudes towards the native in South Africa. You will be asked to read through a list of

EXPERIMENTAL

statements about the native and to endorse those that express your own sentiment or attitude. Let your own experience with natives determine what statements you will endorse.

Before you turn over the page, will you please supply the following information:

1. Your name (if you wish): . . .
2. Sex (and age): . . .
3. Your group, nationality, or race, e.g. English- or Afrikaans-speaking, Jewish, &c.: . . .
4. Born in the Union or abroad: . . .
5. Early years in the Union spent in town, village, or on a farm: . . .
6. In what district and province of the Union: . . .
7. Occupation or profession: . . .

Check (✓) every statement below that expresses your sentiment towards the native. Interpret the statements in accordance with your own experience of the native.

1. I consider that the native is only fit to do the 'dirty' work of the white community.
2. The idea of contact with the black or dark skin of the native excites horror and disgust in me.
3. It seems to me that the white man by placing restrictions, such as the 'Colour Bar', upon the native is really trying to exploit him economically.
4. I think that the native ought to be given every opportunity of education and development—just like the white man.
5. I think that the native, if he were given the chance, would prove to be just as good as the white man.
6. I consider that the native is more like an animal than a human being.
7. I do not think that the native is capable of profiting by education except to a very limited extent.
8. I think that the native should always occupy an inferior or menial position in the community.
9. I do not consider that the present social system is fundamentally unjust to the native.
10. It seems clear to me that the rights of the native in this country have nearly always been ignored by the white man.
11. I would rather see the white people lose their position in this country than keep it at the expense of injustice to the native.
12. I am not interested in the native or in his relations to the white man because I think that in the end economic factors will decide his fate.
13. I do not think that we ought to help the native until all the white people who are in need have been helped.

14. Sometimes I feel that the native is not getting a square deal, but at other times I feel he has a lot to be thankful for.
15. I do not think that the native can be relied upon in a position of trust or of responsibility.
16. I think that no native should ever be allowed to enter into competition with a white man.
17. To my mind the native is so childish and irresponsible that he cannot be expected to know what is in his best interests.
18. I consider that the native has been unjustly deprived of his country by the white man.
19. I do not think that the rights of the native should be subordinated to the selfish interests of the white man.
20. I am not very happy about the way in which the native is treated in this country, but I find it very difficult to decide which is the right way.
21. I believe that the native has a great future ahead of him and that he has a valuable contribution to make to the world's civilization.
22. I consider that the white community in this country owe a real debt of gratitude to the missionaries for the way in which they have tried to uplift the native.
23. I would like to see the native advance in the scale of civilization, but only very slowly and step by step.
24. I think that all the native requires to make him happy is the satisfaction of his material needs.
25. I consider that the white man is neglecting to do his duty by not doing more to improve the lot of the native.
26. I have no objection to the native provided that he keeps his proper place.
27. Until the native has been given more time and more opportunity of showing what he is capable of doing, I think that it is foolish to try to judge him.
28. I admire the native for his many good qualities and would like to see him being given an opportunity of developing them.
29. I feel very strongly that the white man cannot maintain himself in South Africa unless he discriminates against the native.
30. The fact that the native had developed no civilization of his own to speak of before the white man arrived in this country, is to my mind more than sufficient proof of his innate inferiority.

EKSPERIMENTELE STUDIE VAN HOUDING TEENOR DIE NATUREL

Dit is 'n eksperimentele studie van die indeling van houdings teenoor die natuure in Suid-Afrika. U sal gevra word om 'n lys van bewerings oor die natuure deur te lees, en om dié wat u eie gevoel of houding uitdruk, aan te teken. Laat u eie ondervinding met natuure beslis watter bewerings u gaan onderskryf.

Sal u asseblief die volgende gegewens verskaf vóór u omblaai:

1. U naam (as u wil):
2. Geslag (en ouderdom):
3. Afrikaans- of Engelssprekend:
4. Kinderjare deurgebring op 'n stad, dorp, of plass:

5. In watter distrik en provinsie van die Unie:

6. Besigheid of beroep:

Dui aan (✓) elke bewering hieronder wat u eie gevoelens teenoor die naturel uitdruk. Beoordeel die bewerings volgens u eie ondervinding met naturelle.

1. Ek reken dat die naturel net goed is om die „vuil“ werk van die witman te doen.
2. Die gedagte van aanraking met die swart of donker vel van die naturel wek by my afsku en walging op.
3. Deur beperkings, soos die „Kleurlyn“, vir die naturel te stel, probeer die witman eintlik om hom op ekonomiese gebied uit te buit, so lyk dit vir my.
4. Ek dink dat aan die naturel iedere geleentheid vir opvoeding en self-ontwikkeling gegee behoort te word—net soos aan die witman.
5. Ek dink dat die naturel, as aan hom die kans gegee word, sal wys dat hy net so goed as die witman is.
6. Ek reken dat die naturel meer soos 'n dier is as soos 'n mens.
7. Ek dink dat die naturel uit die opvoeding nie meer as 'n baie beperkte mate van voordeel kan trek nie.
8. Ek dink dat die naturel altyd 'n onderdanige en minderwaardige posisie in die gemeenskap behoort in te neem.
9. Ek dink dat die huidige maatskaplike stelsel nie op 'n onregverdige grondslag teenoor die naturel berus nie.
10. Dit is vir my duidelik dat die regte van die naturel in hierdie land nog byna altyd deur die witman verontagsaam is.
11. Ek sou hewers sien dat die witmense hulle posisie in hierdie land kwytraak, dan dat hulle dit behou ten koste van onreg teenoor die naturel.
12. Ek stel geen belang in die naturel of in sy verhouding teenoor die witman nie, omdat myns insiens ekonomiese faktore op die ou end oor sy lot sal beslis.
13. Ek dink dat ons nie die naturel behoort te help voor dat ons nie eers al die hulpbehoewende witmense gehelp het nie.
14. Partykeer voel ek dat die naturel nie eerlik behandel word nie, maar dan dink ek weer dat hy baie het om voor dankbaar te wees.
15. Ek dink dat op die naturel nie staatgemaak kan word in 'n posisie waaraan vertroue en verantwoordelikheid verbonde is nie.

16. Ek dink dat geen naturel ooit toegelaat behoort te word om met 'n witman te wedywer nie.
17. Volgens my mening is die naturel só kinderagtig en onverantwoordelik dat 'n mens nie van hom kan verwag dat hy weet wat die beste in sy eie belange is nie.
18. Ek reken dat die naturel op 'n onregverdige wyse van sy land ontnem is deur die witmens.
19. Ek dink dat die regte van die naturel nie ondergeskik gestel moet word aan die selfsugtige belange van die witman nie.
20. Ek voel nie heeltemal gelukkig oor die manier waarop die naturel in hierdie land behandel word nie, maar ek vind dit moeilik om te besluit watter die regte manier sou wees.
21. Ek glo dat die naturel 'n groot toekoms het en dat hy 'n waardevolle bydrae sal kan lewer tot die beskawing van die wêreld.
22. Ek reken dat die wit gemeenskap in hierdie land aan die sendelinge 'n groot mate van werklike erkentlikheid verskuldig is vir die manier waarop hulle probeer het om die naturel op te hef.
23. Ek sou graag sien dat die naturel langs die trap van beskawing opklim, maar slegs baie langsaam en voetjie vir voetjie.
24. Ek dink dat al wat die naturel nodig het om hom gelukkig te maak is die bevrediging van sy stoflike behoeftes.
25. Ek reken dat die witmens sy plig versuim deur nie meer te doen vir die verbetering van die lot van die naturel nie.
26. Ek het niks teen die naturel nie, mits hy op sy regte plek bly.
27. Voór die naturel nie meer tyd en beter geleentheid kry om te wys wat hy kan doen nie, meen ek dat dit dwaas is om 'n oordeel oor hom te probeer vel.
28. Ek bewonder die naturel vir sy baie goeie hoedanighede, en sou graag sien dat hy die geleentheid kry om hulle te ontwikkel.
29. Ek is daar sterk van oortuig dat die witman hom nie in Suid-Afrika kan handhaaf nie tensy hy 'n onderskeid teenoor die naturel maak.
30. Die feit dat die naturel geen eie noemenswaardige beskawing ontwikkel het voór die witman in hierdie land gekom het nie, is vir my meer as voldoende bewys van sy ingebore minderwaardigheid.

In the application of the scale the usual precautions were taken to create a favourable atmosphere. By way of introducing the scale, the subjects were informed in very general terms about the aim of the investigation, and emphasis was laid on the fact that the scale was not in any sense a test of their ability, but merely a means of finding out what they actually felt and thought about the native. They were told to take the statements at their face value and to endorse only those statements which really expressed the way they felt and thought about the native, and not the way they might consider they ought to feel and think about him. To secure so far as possible an expression of 'real' attitudes in the given situation, the choice of anonymity was offered, and taken advantage

of by many of the subjects. On the whole, the scale appeared to be taken in the right spirit and a good deal of interest was displayed in what was, for all of them, a novel situation. The subject who wanted to know 'what a statement meant', or who was not quite sure whether he was in agreement with a particular statement or not, was instructed to go ahead and decide for himself. There was no time limit, and subjects were informed before the blanks were distributed that they could take as long as they liked. Finally, stress was laid upon the fact that all the results would be regarded as confidential, but that individual subjects could obtain their results if they applied for them. A considerable number took advantage of this offer.

As a means of determining the extent of the response evoked by the scale, a table of the average number of endorsements was compiled from the returns of subjects whose scores were distributed over different portions of the scale. The number of statements in the scale is not very large, and, since the method of scoring adopted takes into consideration the total endorsements of each subject, a comparison of the average frequency of endorsements of subjects who vary widely in their attitudes as measured by the scale will throw some light upon its effectiveness as a measuring device. If there were marked discrepancies in the number of the statements endorsed by subjects whose attitudes varied widely, that fact would reveal a defect in the scale as used. In Table II the results are summarized. The first column gives the number of subjects whose returns were tabulated, the second column gives the step-interval within which the scores fell, and the third column the average number of statements endorsed by subjects whose scores fell within that step-interval.

TABLE II
*Frequency Table of Endorsements for different Step-intervals
of the Scale*

<i>Subjects</i>	<i>Step-intervals</i>	<i>Endorsements</i>	<i>($Q_1 - Q_2$)</i>
50	2-3	10.2	3.46
50	3-4	12.0	4.76
50	4-5	12.4	5.95
50	5-6	13.0	7.07
50	6-7	11.7	5.91
50	7-8	12.0	4.72
50	8-9	11.5	4.34
350	2-9	11.9	..

These results appear to be entirely satisfactory since they show a high and fairly uniform distribution of endorsements over the

various step-intervals of the scale. To Table II has been added a fourth column showing the inter-quartile range of the scale-values of statements endorsed by subjects whose scores fall within a given step-interval. The results show that the subjects whose scores fall within the step-interval 5-6 have the largest inter-quartile range (as well as the highest average of endorsements), and that as we proceed towards the ends of the scale the inter-quartile range steadily becomes smaller. The larger the size of the inter-quartile value the greater is the 'tolerance' of subjects for statements which are farther apart on the scale. From the data given in Table II we may conclude that those subjects whose scores fall on the middle portion of the scale endorse statements which vary more widely in scale-value than subjects whose scores fall towards the end portions. The fact that subjects whose attitudes tend towards 'neutrality' are more likely to agree with divergent, and even conflicting, statements about the native, may be partly accounted for on the grounds of the greater ambivalence of these subjects as well as their lack of any definite convictions one way or the other.

The method of scoring consisted simply in reading off from a key the scale-value of each statement endorsed, and finding the average or mean score of all the statements. This method, however, does not provide an equally true value for all positions on the scale, since the attitudes of subjects with very low or very high scores tend to be displaced from their true positions on the scale.¹ Since the scale is arbitrarily cut off at both ends, the attitudes of these subjects may not always be brought into play to their fullest extent. Only if statements could be found that were so extreme either in favour of, or against, the native that very few, if any, of those whose attitudes are most strongly for, or against, the native would be prepared to endorse them, would their attitudes be adequately represented by the average value of their scores. On the other hand, subjects from the middle of the scale find statements in both directions that go beyond what they are prepared to endorse, so that in their case an average score is more likely to represent their true position on the scale. In the scale under consideration, this displacement of attitudes at either extreme from their true position is more apparent at the extreme pro-end of the scale, where the lowest scale-value is as high as 0.8. This fact would also account for lower average number of endorsements as well as the smaller inter-quartile range of subjects whose scores fall within the step-interval 2-3, as shown in Table II.

¹ See H. N. Smith, 'A Scale for measuring attitudes about prohibition', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, vol. xxvi, no. 4, 1932.

5. *The Reliability and Validity of the Scale*

Where a psychological test, scale, or questionnaire exists only in one form, two methods are available for determining the reliability of the instrument. By the 'repeat' method the scale is applied twice in succession to the same group of subjects and the scores obtained from the first application are correlated with those from the second application. The value of the self-correlation is taken as a measure of the coefficient of reliability, though this value is always slightly higher than the true coefficient. The group whose results were made use of for determining the reliability coefficient numbered seventy-six subjects of both sexes, predominantly English-speaking South Africans, but with a large percentage of Jews and a smaller percentage of Afrikaans-speaking students. The second application of the scale took place exactly one week after the first. Subjects had been advised that the scale would be applied a second time, but had no idea when the second application would take place. The coefficient of reliability, obtained by self-correlation, is 0.935 with a *P.E.* of 0.010. The average difference in individual scores obtained from the two applications is 0.39; the average scores are 4.8 and 4.6 with an *S.D.* of 1.33 and 1.45 respectively. The *P.E._(diff)* is 0.154.

By the 'split-half' method the reliability of the scale is tested by dividing it into equal parts. Since the scale consists of eleven units its midpoint is 5.5. The average scale-value of the thirty statements is 5.54. In applying the split-half method, the following procedure was followed: the statements were arranged in rank order according to their scale-value, and the first and second members of each successive pair were assigned alternately to the same part. The two halves of the scale, each containing fifteen statements, both had an average scale-value of 5.54. The returns of 200 subjects to whom the scale had been applied once were used for determining reliability.

Each return was given two scores by finding the average score on each of the two halves into which the scale had been divided. The coefficient of correlation (r_h) between the two sets of scores was 0.819. The coefficient of reliability according to the Spearman-Brown formula is thus 0.90. From these values of the coefficient of reliability we may conclude that no less than 90 per cent. of the total fallible score is determined by the attitude variable, as measured by the scale, while not more than 10 per cent. of the total fallible score is due to errors of measurement.¹

¹ See R. C. Tryon, 'The Reliability Coefficient as a Per Cent, with Application to Correlation between Abilities', *Psych. Rev.*, vol. xxxvii, no. 2, 1930.

Although the scale may have a satisfactorily high degree of reliability, we require additional evidence before we can be confident that it measures what it professes to measure, namely, the attitude of an individual towards the native. Since no other means exists of measuring the attitude, we cannot test the validity of the scale by a comparison of its results with some other instrument. We are obliged, therefore, to make use of other criteria. When we were dealing with the procedure for determining the scale-values of statements of opinion about the native, evidence was brought forward to show that the scale-values, as determined, had a high degree of validity, since there was general agreement,

TABLE III

Frequency Table of Endorsements of two groups with scores from 2-3 and from 8-9

<i>Score (2-3)</i>	<i>Scale No.</i>	<i>Scale-value</i>	<i>Score (8-9)</i>
33	11	0.8	0
50	4	1.1	0
39	21	1.2	0
46	5	1.3	0
20	18	1.4	0
45	10	1.7	0
46	28	2.2	0
45	10	2.6	1
45	25	2.8	2
37	3	3.1	1
25	22	3.8	1
19	23	4.4	1
24	20	4.8	2
20	27	5.1	3
12	14	5.4	14
0	12	5.6	12
1	26	6.2	33
2	9	6.5	28
0	24	6.7	27
2	13	7.5	44
0	7	7.8	35
0	29	8.2	26
0	17	8.4	37
0	15	8.6	44
0	30	8.8	41
0	16	9.4	47
0	8	9.7	48
0	2	10.2	42
0	1	10.3	44
0	6	10.6	40

even between heterogeneous groups, with regard to the degree of pro- and anti-native bias of the statements. By taking the returns of one group of subjects whose scores place them at one end of the scale and comparing them with the returns of a second group of

subjects whose scores place them at the other end, we should expect to find a high degree of consistency in the endorsements, such that there would be little or no overlapping of the statements endorsed by the two groups. In Table III the results of two groups of fifty subjects each, whose scores fell within the 2-3 and the 8-9 step-intervals respectively, are presented. They show that what has been called the criterion of internal consistency as a test of validity is fairly well satisfied.¹

Another criterion which may be made use of to test the validity of the scale is to apply it to a group of subjects whose attitude is already known to have a certain bias either for or against the native, and to observe whether the results of the scale confirm that knowledge by revealing the bias. Thus an Afrikaans-speaking group would be expected to have, on the whole, an unfavourable attitude towards the native or, at least, a less favourable attitude than, say, an English-speaking group. If the results of the scale confirm this belief by differentiating between the two groups, we would have further evidence in favour of its validity. The results which will be presented at a later stage show very definitely that such is the case. Selected individuals may also be confronted with their results and their agreement or disagreement with the position assigned to them on the scale noted. This was always done with those subjects who came to find out what their scores on the scale had been, and in the great majority of the cases they appeared to accept the findings of the scale readily enough.

¹ 'A Neurotic Inventory', by L. L. Thurstone and T. G. Thurstone, *The Journal of Social Psychology*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1930.

X

A SOCIAL DISTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. *The Concept of Social Distance*

THE construction of a scale for measuring social attitudes towards the native and the preliminary results obtained from its application raised the question of whether it would not be possible to discover any relation between the attitude as measured by the scale and similar attitudes towards other groups, nationalities, or races. Since the labour involved in the construction of a reliable scale made it impossible to construct similar scales for measuring attitudes towards these other groups, some simpler and less arduous method had to be employed. For that purpose an adaptation of a method first used by E. S. Borgardus for measuring the social distance between groups was considered to be the most suitable.¹ By means of a specially constructed questionnaire it was hoped that it would be possible to obtain a good deal of fairly reliable information that could be used for shedding light upon the interrelations of one whole class of attitudes, as well as upon the existence of the specific and general factors that might be present.

The phrase 'social distance' appears to have been first used in a technical sense by sociological writers as a convenient way of describing the fact that the relations between groups, as between individuals, are based upon the attitudes of the members of one group towards the members of the other group (or groups). Just as we find individuals of the same group in their personal relations with one another displaying those attitudes which either bring them together, as in love or friendship, or which drive and keep them apart, as in hate or aversion or merely indifference, so we find that individuals, as members of one group, will, because of that fact, display similar attitudes towards the members of another group. In the latter case it is not to the individual in his private capacity that the attitude is displayed, but to the individual in his capacity as the representative of a particular group. When they are not playing their respective roles as group members, the relations between individuals belonging to different groups may be perfectly friendly and even intimate. A dramatic illustration of this curious divergence between private and group attitudes was

¹ 'The Measurement of Social Distance' in *Source Book of Social Psychology*, edited by Kimball Young, pp. 490-3.

provided by the fraternization between English and German soldiers on the Western Front during the first Christmas of the Great War. As members of two mutually hostile groups, their attitudes were not merely divergent from, but actually opposed to, their attitudes as private individuals. More humdrum cases in everyday life are illustrated by the relations between members of different social classes who may be on a very intimate footing with one another in spite of the fact that the social distance separating their respective groups is very great. On the other hand, two individuals in their private capacity may display attitudes of indifference or dislike or hostility towards one another, but in their capacity as members of the same group the social distance between them may be small or negligible.

The point which emerges from the foregoing discussion is that the concept of social distance is a psychological concept, since it is based upon the attitudes of the individual, and that it is more particularly a concept of group psychology, since it deals especially with those attitudes which are displayed by the individual as the member of a group in contact with other groups. To deal at all adequately with the concept would anticipate our discussion of group psychology and the individual, so that, for the time being, it may suffice to draw attention to one or two of the factors that play a part in determining the nature and extent of the social distance between individuals who belong to different groups.

In the first place, social distance, since it is based upon the distinction between the 'in-group' and the 'out-group', is not felt to the same extent towards those with whom we can identify ourselves. The more individuals find that they have in common with one another, the more readily can identification take place. Since belonging to the same group means identifying ourselves with its other members on the basis of common interests, ideals, traditions, and the rest, it follows that the more intense our identification with our own group, or the greater the differences in their respective sources of identification which distinguish our group from other groups, the greater will be the social distance between them. Closeness of contact, or familiarity as such, between groups will not necessarily lead to a reduction in social distance between the individual members, unless it is accompanied by the discovery that there are elements shared in common. Otherwise, such familiarity, by enhancing the differences that divide the two groups, will only lead to an increase in social distance. Although it is true that lack of contact, isolation, or segregation, because of the opportunities that they provide for ignorant and distorted representations of other groups, may fortify social distance, they do not create it.

In the second place, since the differences that distinguish groups from one another are usually interpreted in terms of the relative superiority or inferiority of the one group to the other, we expect to find greater social distance associated with greater superiority or inferiority. Conversely, the greater the superiority or inferiority that members feel with regard to their own group in comparison with the other, the greater also will be the extent of social distance that separates them. On the psychological plane, social distance is almost inevitably both vertical as well as horizontal in direction. Where there is actual social contact between members of two such groups, the relations between their members may be perfectly amicable so long as those belonging to the inferior group do not 'overstep the mark', that is, keep their proper place at the correct social distance. As soon, however, as they refuse any longer to submit to their inferior status, the dominant group reacts by an exaggerated hostility which is due partly to the annoyance caused by the disturbance of the existing social forms and habits, and partly to the fear that an invasion from below may lead to the disappearance of all social distance. Thus the greater the social distance separating two groups, the greater, as a rule, is the group prejudice and the group intolerance of the superior for the inferior group.

Finally, the social distance between the 'in-group' and the 'out-groups' is affected not only by the particular composition of these groups, but also by the particular kind of social contact and the proportion of members participating in it. It is by taking into consideration the kind and extent of social contact involved that we determine social distance. It was with these considerations in mind that the social distance questionnaire used in this investigation was framed. For example, we find that the social distance separating one group from another is always greater for primary social contacts as compared with secondary social contacts, and greater for some primary and secondary contacts than for others. We may be prepared to permit an individual who is a member of another group to live and work in our country without being prepared to admit him to citizenship; in the same way, we may be prepared to admit a man to our occupation or profession without extending friendship to him, or to make friends with him without admitting him to our family circle, and so on. The extent of these qualifications will vary, obviously, with the composition of the group of which the individual is a member. At one extreme we may find groups separated by a relatively large social distance, and, at the other, groups that are separated by so small a social distance that the distinction between them and the 'in-group' is reduced to

vanishing-point. Or again, we may be prepared to enter into social relations with some but not with all the members of a particular 'out-group', and the proportion may vary according to the nature of the relation. All these various combinations of factors that affect the extent of the social distance between members of different groups may also affect the attitude of an individual towards the other members of his own group. One of the surprising facts elicited by the questionnaire is just this fact that the social distance for one's own group, although much less in extent than for most other groups, is quite appreciable and by no means tends to disappear completely.

2. Construction and Scoring of the Questionnaire

In the construction of the questionnaire the method was followed of controlling the responses of subjects by offering them only a limited number of specified items from which to select those which were most nearly in accordance with their own feeling reactions. This multiple-choice method may be criticized on the rather vague and general grounds that the situation of the questionnaire is too unreal and restricted in scope, but these alleged disadvantages are more than outweighed by the fact that the data are provided in some sort of quantitative or comparable form. Five degrees of social relationship, from what appeared to be the most remote to the most intimate, were formulated and ranked according to what was believed to be the relative extent of their social distance; and for each degree a choice of five proportions of the group, ranging from any or all to none, was offered.

The choice of groups for inclusion in the questionnaire was determined in the following way: first, the three experimental groups, English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking, and Jews, whose attitudes towards the native had been measured by the scale; secondly, those groups with whom the experimental groups were associated by sentiment, tradition, or descent, such as Englishmen, Scotsmen, Hollanders, and Germans; thirdly, other well-defined groups within the Union, such as the Bantu, the Cape Coloured, and the Indian; fourthly, groups whose representatives are found on, or near, the borders of the Union, such as the Belgians and the Portuguese. The groups were arranged in what was meant to be a haphazard order, except that the Belgian group was placed first, since they were of least interest from the point of view of the investigation and might serve in that position as a kind of shock absorber for the remaining groups.

The questionnaire itself is given on the following pages.

SOCIAL DISTANCE QUESTIONNAIRE

Directions: Underline the word which expresses, or most nearly expresses, the way you feel towards the members of other groups, nationalities, or races (as a class, and not the best members you have known, nor the worst) with regard to certain relationships stated below.

Example

According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit: Any. Most: Some: Few: No—Americans to live and work in my country.

1. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
 - (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Belgians to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Few: No—Belgians to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Belgians to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Belgians to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Belgians to close kinship by marriage.
2. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
 - (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Scotsmen to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Scotsmen to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Scotsmen to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Scotsmen to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Scotsmen to close kinship by marriage.
3. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
 - (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Indians (Asiatics) to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Indians (Asiatics) to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Indians (Asiatics) to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Indians (Asiatics) to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Indians (Asiatics) to close kinship by marriage.
4. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
 - (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—English-speaking South Africans to live and work in my country.

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- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—English-speaking South Africans to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—English-speaking South Africans to my School or University, my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—English-speaking South Africans to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—English-speaking South Africans to close kinship by marriage.
5. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Germans to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Germans to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Germans to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Germans to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Germans to close kinship by marriage.
6. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Cape Coloured to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Cape Coloured to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Cape Coloured to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Cape Coloured to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Cape Coloured to close kinship by marriage.
7. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Portuguese to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Portuguese to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
 - (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Portuguese to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 - (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Portuguese to my home as my personal friends.
 - (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Portuguese to close kinship by marriage.
8. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives (Bantu) to live and work in my country.
 - (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives (Bantu) to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.

- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives (Bantu) to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives (Bantu) to my home as my personal friends.
- (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Natives (Bantu) to close kinship by Marriage.
9. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Hollanders to live and work in my country.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Hollanders to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Hollanders to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Hollanders to my home as my personal friends.
- (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Hollanders to close kinship by marriage.
10. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to live and work in my country.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to my home as my personal friends.
- (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to close kinship by marriage.
11. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Jews to live and work in my country.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Jews to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.
- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Jews to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
- (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Jews to my home as my personal friends.
- (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Jews to close kinship by marriage.
12. According to my first feeling reaction, I would willingly admit:
- (a) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Englishmen to live and work in my country.
- (b) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Englishmen to full citizenship, including the right to vote, in my country.

- (c) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Englishmen to my School or University, to my profession or occupation.
 (d) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Englishmen to my home as my personal friends.
 (e) Any: Most: Some: Few: No—Englishmen to close kinship by marriage.

An Afrikaans translation of the questionnaire was prepared in the same way as the Afrikaans translation of the scale. As the two versions are very nearly, if not completely, identical—certainly much more so than in the case of the scale—it is not considered necessary to reproduce the Afrikaans version in the text. The questionnaire was always applied together with the scale and answered by subjects after they had completed the scale. In the general instructions, emphasis was laid upon the importance of returning an answer for every line in every group, including the subject's own group. With a few exceptions, these instructions were followed by every subject, so that the questionnaire appears to have succeeded in its aim of eliciting responses to all the possible combinations that were offered for selection.

The scoring of the completed questionnaire was carried out in the following way: for the five proportions of the group Any: Most: Some: Few: No the five values $+2$, $+1$, 0 , -1 , -2 were substituted for every degree of social distance. To each of the five 'social distances', a rank value was assigned according to its position in the series. On the left or positive side of the group proportions these values ran from 1 to 5, while on the right or negative side of the group proportions these values ran from 5 to 1. The positive values from left to right on each line were then multiplied by the corresponding values, 1 to 5, running from top to bottom; and in the same way the negative values from right to left on each line were multiplied by the corresponding values, 5 to 1, running from top to bottom. If we substitute the values in the text of any questionnaire group, we obtain the following key:

	<i>Any</i>	<i>Most</i>	<i>Some</i>	<i>Few</i>	<i>No</i>
1	$+2$	$+1$	0	1	2×5
2	$+2$	$+1$	0	1	2×4
3	$+2$	$+1$	0	1	2×3
4	$+2$	$+1$	0	1	2×2
5	$+2$	$+1$	0	1	2×1

From the key the score for any one of the five possible selections on each line can easily be read off. At one end we find that willingness to admit 'Any' or 'Most' of a group to live and work in one's country received the small positive scores of $+2$ or $+1$,

while willingness to admit 'Few' or 'No' members of a group receives the large negative scores of -5 or -10 . At the other end willingness to admit 'Any' or 'Most' members of a group to close kinship by marriage receives the high positive scores of $+10$ or $+5$, while willingness to admit 'Few' or 'No' members receives the low negative scores of -1 or -2 . A subject who selects 'Any' at every choice would get a score of $+2 +4 +6 +8 +10$ or $+30$ —the maximum positive score; a subject who selects 'Some' at every choice would get a zero score; while a subject who selects 'No' at every choice would get a score of $-2 -4 -6 -8 -10$ or -30 —the maximum negative score. The principle upon which the scoring was based is that every selection of 'Any' or 'Most' for any social distance must receive a positive score and that every selection of 'Few' or 'No' must receive a negative score. The selection of 'Some' indicating a neutral, indifferent, or ambivalent attitude would then receive no credit or a zero score.

3. Reliability and Validity of the Questionnaire

The reliability of the questionnaire was determined by the 'repeat' method, which was the only method that could be used under the circumstances. The group of subjects to whom the questionnaire was applied was the same group that had been used for determining the reliability of the scale. The coefficients of reliability or the correlations between the scores obtained from two successive applications were calculated for each group (nationality or race) included in the questionnaire. The results are given in the following table:

TABLE IV

Group	<i>r</i>	P.E.	Group	<i>r</i>	P.E.
Englishmen	0.915	0.013	C. Coloured	0.777	0.030
Jews	0.879	0.017	Natives	0.776	0.030
Germans	0.842	0.022	Scotsmen	0.718	0.037
Indians	0.839	0.023	Hollanders	0.679	0.041
Afrk.-sp. S.A.	0.824	0.025	Portuguese	0.643	0.045
Eng.-sp. S.A.	0.801	0.027	Belgians	0.581	0.051

The reliability coefficient of this kind of questionnaire is not, as a rule, very high, so that at least half of the coefficients in the table above compare very favourably with coefficients that have been obtained by other investigators. One surprising fact is the wide variation in the values of the coefficients. Even if we omit the lowest value (since it appears that the Belgian group may, after all, have played the role of 'shock-absorber' to the other groups), the difference in value between the highest and the lowest coefficients

is 0.272, which is nearly six times the probable error of the difference between the two coefficients. ($P.E._{diff.} = 0.047$.)

The validity of the questionnaire could only be determined by such indirect criteria as were available. Thus we should expect to find that members of an 'in-group' would show the most favourable or highest positive score for their own group as compared with 'out-groups', since the higher the positive score the smaller is the social distance or the greater the tolerance for the group. Again, we should expect to find that a group, such as English-speaking South Africans, would show a more favourable score for such groups as Englishmen or Scotsmen than would the group of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans; and that the social distance between any of the three European groups—English- and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans and Jews—and any other European group would be much less than that between any one of these groups and, say, a non-European group. A possible exception is the social distance of Jews for Germans, which may have been adversely affected by recent events in Germany. Results obtained from the application of the questionnaire in this inquiry show that these criteria are satisfied.

Another criterion of a more direct kind is the amount of correlation between the attitude towards the native as measured by the scale, and social distance as determined by the questionnaire. The correlations obtained are as follows:

For Eng.-sp. S.A.	Witwatersrand (No. 205), $r = 0.839$.
For Eng.-sp. S.A.	Grahamstown (No. 96), $r = 0.703$.
For Jews	Witwatersrand (No. 111), $r = 0.786$.
For Afrik.-sp. S.A.	Witwatersrand (No. 100), $r = 0.491$.
For Afrik.-sp. S.A.	Potchefstroom (No. 120), $r = 0.306$.

XI

EXPERIMENTAL RESULTS

1. *Experimental and Control Groups*

THE subjects to whom the scale and the questionnaire were applied were all undergraduate students in their first year at the university. From the outset the investigation was confined to university students, since they form a well-defined section of the European community whose opinions and attitudes towards the native, in view of the roles that they are likely to play in later life, are of more than usual interest. It was also felt that, coming as they did from all parts of the country, though predominantly from the urban centres, and before they had been influenced to any extent by their contacts at the university, they would represent a wider range of opinions and attitudes than merely that of students. On the other hand, in view of the fact that the community, as a whole, can scarcely be said to be represented adequately by its students, it is not suggested that the students who acted as subjects are a fair sample of the European community. Any conclusions, therefore, that may be drawn from their results can only be applied with the necessary qualifications to the population at large.

The students at the University of the Witwatersrand who took the tests numbered 416, of both sexes, which is between 60 and 70 per cent. of the total number of first-year students. Only the results of those subjects who gave their country of birth as the Union of South Africa were taken into consideration. The tests were applied soon after the opening of the university year, in April and May 1934, to the English I, Botany I, and Applied Mathematics I classes, which comprise students taking courses in Arts, Science, Medicine, and Engineering. In the previous year the scale alone, in its original form, had been applied to the same classes; and the results obtained then, though not strictly comparable with the results obtained by means of the revised scale, will also be taken into consideration.

The subjects were divided, according to information supplied by themselves, into three groups, namely, English-speaking South Africans, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, and Jews (born in South Africa). At a centre like Johannesburg, with its large Jewish population, and at an institution like the university which is predominantly English-speaking, the Jews among the student body represent a larger proportion than the Jewish population in the Union as a whole, while the Afrikaans-speaking students

represent a smaller proportion than the Dutch section of the total population. To restore the balance to some extent, and also to provide groups whose results would serve as a control over those obtained at Johannesburg, it was considered advisable to go outside the university and apply the scale and questionnaire to students elsewhere. For that purpose the two tests were also applied (in Afrikaans) to students of the Potchefstroom University College where there are no Jews and which is almost entirely, if not wholly, an Afrikaans institution; and to students at the Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, where there are only a few Jews and which is almost, though not quite, as completely an English institution. Potchefstroom draws its students very largely from the rural Afrikaans-speaking population of the Transvaal, while the students at Grahamstown come mainly from the Eastern Province of the Cape which, in view of its long tradition of Kaffir wars and close contacts between European and Bantu at the present time, might be expected to provide some interesting results.

The numbers of the students whose returns were made use of, and their distribution according to sex, university centre, and group affiliations, are given below.

<i>Johannesburg</i>		
1 English-speaking South Africans	205, M.	141, F. 64.
2 Afrikaans-speaking South Africans	100, M.	74, F. 26.
3 Jews	111, M.	77, F. 34.
<i>Potchefstroom</i>		
4 Afrikaans-speaking South Africans	120, M.	72, F. 48.
<i>Grahamstown</i>		
5 English-speaking South Africans	96, M.	33, F. 63.

2. Results obtained from the Application of the Scale

The scores of subjects were found, with only one or two exceptions, to range themselves over seven units of the scale. Each of these units or step-intervals was arbitrarily taken as the basis for distinguishing a degree of attitude, favourable or unfavourable, towards the native. Thus, within any group, a maximum of seven classes could be distinguished according to the following table:

TABLE V

<i>Step-interval</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Attitude towards the Native</i>
2-3	1	Very strongly favourable
3-4	2	Strongly favourable
4-5	3	Favourable
5-6	4	Ambivalent
6-7	5	Unfavourable
7-8	6	Strongly unfavourable
8-9	7	Very strongly unfavourable

In every case the number falling within any step-interval or class was reduced to a per cent. of the total number of the group so as to make the tables and graphs directly comparable. In the graphs the average score of each group is indicated by a small arrow on the base line, and the middle of the scale by a dotted line. For purposes of comparison the results of groups to whom the scale was applied in 1933 are included as well. Tables and graphs are arranged in the following order:

Table VI.	Figure 1.	Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)
	Figure 2.	Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.).
Table VII.	Figure 3.	Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.).
	Figure 4.	Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Pots.).
Table VIII.	Figure 5.	Jews (Wits.).
Table IX.	Figure 6.	Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.), 1933.
	Figure 6.	Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.), 1933.
	Figure 6.	Jews (Wits.), 1933.

Wits.: University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Rds.: Rhodes University College, Grahamstown.

Pots.: Potchefstroom University College, Potchefstroom.

TABLE VI
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

Scale unit	Total	Men	Women
2-3	15 .. 0.07	11 .. 0.08	4 .. 0.06
3-4	32 .. 0.16	20 .. 0.14	12 .. 0.19
4-5	46 .. 0.22	28 .. 0.20	18 .. 0.28
5-6	44 .. 0.21	33 .. 0.23	11 .. 0.17
6-7	38 .. 0.19	29 .. 0.20	9 .. 0.14
7-8	27 .. 0.13	18 .. 0.13	9 .. 0.14
8-9	3 .. 0.01	2 .. 0.01	1 .. 0.01
	205 .. 1.00	141 .. 0.99	64 .. 0.99
Av.	5.19	5.27	5.03

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

Scale unit	Total	Men	Women
2-3	7 .. 0.07	4 .. 0.12	3 .. 0.05
3-4	15 .. 0.26	7 .. 0.21	18 .. 0.29
4-5	21 .. 0.22	9 .. 0.27	12 .. 0.19
5-6	20 .. 0.20	6 .. 0.18	14 .. 0.22
6-7	13 .. 0.14	5 .. 0.15	8 .. 0.13
7-8	9 .. 0.10	2 .. 0.06	7 .. 0.11
8-9	1 .. 0.01	0 .. 0.00	1 .. 0.02
	96 .. 1.00	33 .. 0.99	63 .. 1.01
Av.	4.81	4.70	4.86

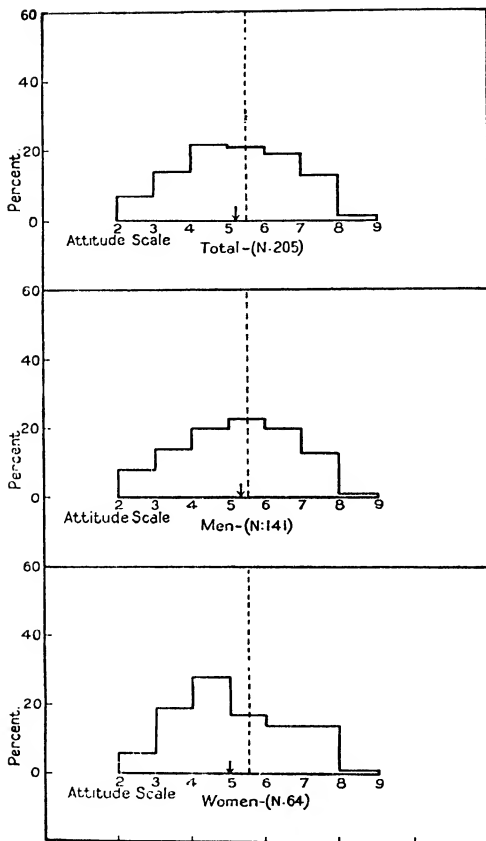


FIG. 1. Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

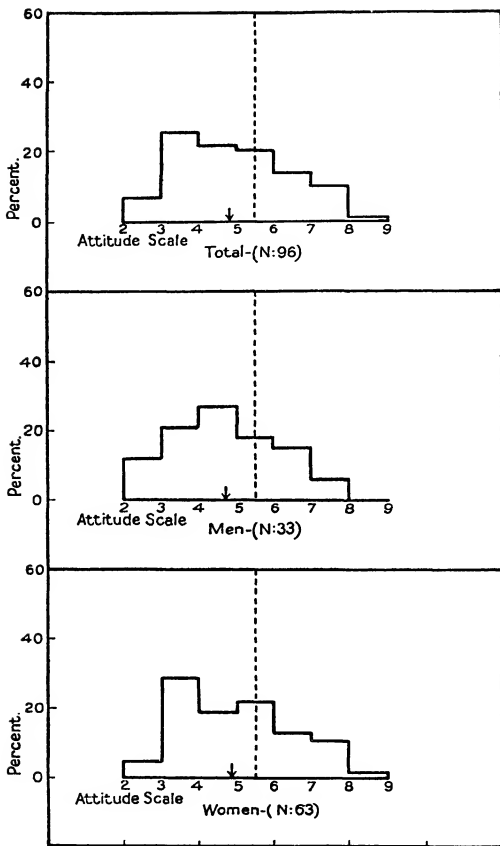


FIG. 2. Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

TABLE VII
Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

<i>Scale unit</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
2-3	0	0'00	0	0'00	0	0'00
3-4	1	0'01	0	0'00	1	0'04
4-5	7	0'07	4	0'05	3	0'11
5-6	18	0'18	12	0'16	6	0'23
6-7	28	0'28	24	0'32	4	0'15
7-8	35	0'35	26	0'35	9	0'35
8-9	11	0'11	8	0'11	3	0'11
	100	1'00	74	0'99	26	0'99
Av.		6'64		6'72		6'41

Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

<i>Scale unit</i>	<i>Total</i>		<i>Men</i>		<i>Women</i>	
2-3	0	0'00	0	0'00	0	0'00
3-4	0	0'00	0	0'00	0	0'00
4-5	6	0'05	3	0'04	3	0'06
5-6	7	0'06	3	0'04	4	0'08
6-7	38	0'32	27	0'37	11	0'23
7-8	54	0'45	30	0'42	24	0'50
8-9	15	0'12	9	0'12	6	0'12
	120	1'00	72	0'99	48	0'99
Av.		6'97		6'99		6'96

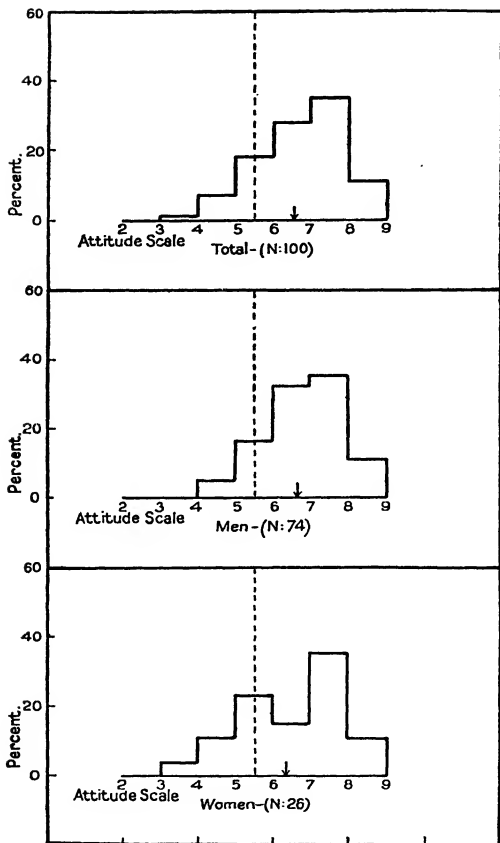


FIG. 3. Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

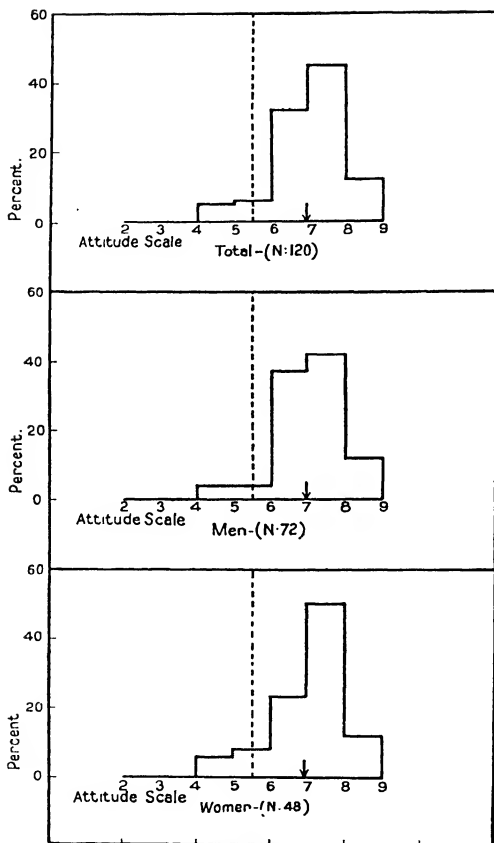


FIG. 4. Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

TABLE VIII

Jews (Wits.)

Scale unit	Total	Men	Women
2-3	5 .. 0·05	4 .. 0·06	1 .. 0·03
3-4	32 .. 0·29	21 .. 0·27	11 .. 0·32
4-5	17 .. 0·15	15 .. 0·20	2 .. 0·06
5-6	23 .. 0·21	15 .. 0·20	8 .. 0·24
6-7	24 .. 0·22	16 .. 0·20	8 .. 0·24
7-8	10 .. 0·09	6 .. 0·08	4 .. 0·12
8-9	0 .. 0·00	0 .. 0·00	0 .. 0·00
	111 .. 1·01	77 .. 1·01	34 .. 1·01
Av.	5·05	5·05	5·04

TABLE IX

Wits. 1933. Eng.-sp. S.A., Afrik.-sp. S.A., Jews

Scale unit	Total (Eng.-sp.)	Total (Afrik.-sp.)	Total (Jews)
2-3	11 .. 0·05	1 .. 0·01	12 .. 0·10
3-4	31 .. 0·13	2 .. 0·02	20 .. 0·17
4-5	53 .. 0·22	4 .. 0·04	22 .. 0·18
5-6	52 .. 0·22	24 .. 0·24	23 .. 0·19
6-7	61 .. 0·26	25 .. 0·26	27 .. 0·23
7-8	23 .. 0·10	36 .. 0·37	12 .. 0·10
8-9	5 .. 0·02	6 .. 0·06	14 .. 0·03
	236 .. 1·00	98 .. 1·00	120 .. 1·00
Est. av.	5·4	6·6	5·2

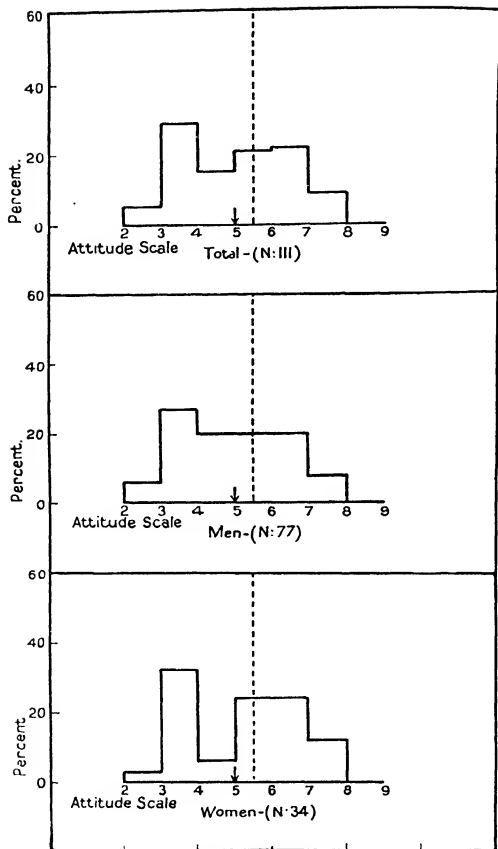


FIG. 5. Jews (Wits.)

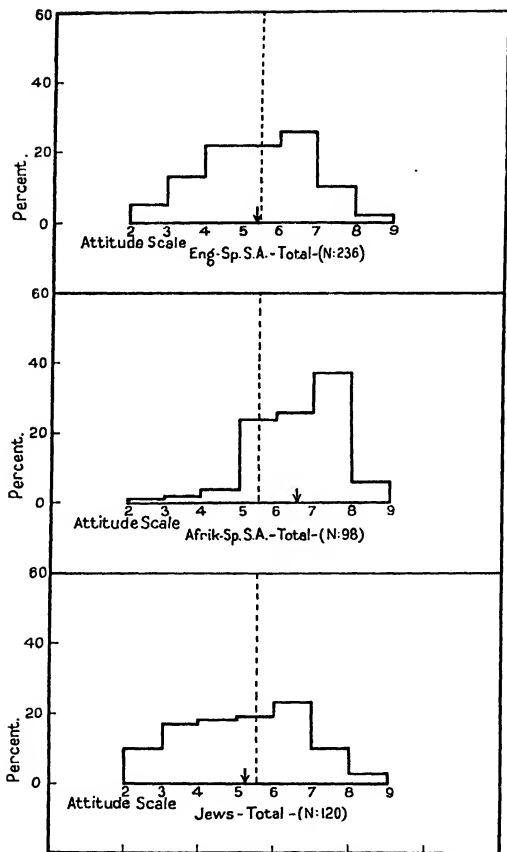


FIG. 6. Eng.-sp. S.A., Afrik.-sp. S.A., Jews (Wits.), 1933

3. *Results obtained from the Application of the Questionnaire*

The scores obtained by subjects on the questionnaire cannot be regarded in the same way as the scores of subjects on the scale. In the latter case, the scores of different subjects (and groups) are directly comparable with one another since they are all multiples of the same common unit of a genuine scale. In the case of the questionnaire, on the other hand, where the statements have simply been assigned a value according to their rank-order or position in a series, no means exists of determining the differences between scores in terms of a rational unit. The difference between a score of 10 and a score of 5 represents, no doubt, a real difference in amount of a quantitative or measurable variable, but how much we cannot say, and certainly we are not entitled to say that the one amount is twice as much as the other. Nor are we entitled to assume that the difference between a score of 10 and a score of 5 is equal to the difference between a score of 20 and a score of 15. The differences between scores, however, if they are statistically reliable, may be assumed to represent real differences of a quantitative kind in whatever is being measured, while a graphical representation of the scores, though it cannot be taken at its face value, may be regarded as a kind of profile, the points of which represent so many positions in a purely relative way.

The total positive and negative scores, and the average score, of each of the control and experimental groups was determined for each of the questionnaire variables (groups, races, or nationalities). The results are summarized in Tables X to XIV. The total positive and negative scores of the control and experimental groups were reduced to percentages of the total possible or maximum positive and negative scores for each variable, and the two sets of percentages were plotted graphically as curves of 'tolerance' and 'intolerance' on the assumption that a positive score represents an attitude of greater tolerance and a negative score an attitude of greater intolerance. These curves are given in Figs. 7 to 10.

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TABLE X—*Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)*

Group	Total (205)			Men (141)			Women (64)		
	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.
Eng.-sp. S.A.	4,017	0	+10.6	2,746	0	+10.5	1,271	0	+10.8
Englishmen	3,063	0	+10.3	2,739	0	+10.4	1,224	0	+10.1
Scotsmen	3,524	60	+16.9	2,434	54	+16.9	1,090	6	+16.9
Afri.-sp. S.A.	2,167	248	+9.4	1,613	154	+10.3	554	94	+7.2
Hollanders	1,862	422	+7.0	1,263	295	+6.0	599	127	+7.4
Germans	1,364	886	+2.3	962	578	+2.7	402	308	+1.5
Belgians	945	1,073	-0.6	640	799	-1.1	305	274	-0.5
Jews	431	2,357	-9.4	320	1,714	-9.9	111	643	-8.3
Portuguese	173	3,160	-14.6	116	2,133	-14.3	57	1,047	-15.2
Natives	33	3,079	-14.9	33	2,004	-14.6	0	985	-15.1
Indians	53	4,520	-21.8	13	3,164	-22.3	40	1,356	-20.6
C. Coloured	4	4,476	-21.8	3	3,237	-23.0	1	1,234	-10.3

Group	Tolerance			Intolerance		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Eng.-sp. S.A.	65.3	64.9	66.2	..	..	..
Englishmen	64.4	64.8	63.8	..	..	..
Scotsmen	57.3	57.5	56.8	1.0	1.3	0.3
Afri.-sp. S.A.	35.2	38.1	28.9	4.0	3.6	4.9
Hollanders	30.3	30.0	31.2	6.9	7.0	6.6
Germans	22.2	22.8	20.9	14.4	11.7	16.0
Belgians	15.4	15.0	15.0	17.4	18.0	14.3
Jews	7.0	7.6	5.8	38.3	40.3	33.5
Portuguese	2.8	2.8	3.0	51.4	50.4	51.5
Natives	0.5	0.8	..	50.1	49.5	51.3
Indians	0.9	0.3	2.1	73.4	74.8	70.6
C. Coloured	..	..	..	72.8	70.5	64.3

TABLE XI—*Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)*

Group	Total (96)			Men (33)			Women (63)		
	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.
English-sp. S.A.	1,896	0	+10.8	552	0	+16.7	1,344	0	+12.3
Englishmen	1,823	4	+18.9	511	0	+15.5	1,312	4	+20.8
Scotsmen	1,821	2	+18.0	526	1	+15.0	1,295	1	+20.5
Hollanders	1,079	83	+10.4	395	10	+11.4	683	77	+10.6
Afri.-sp. S.A.	1,078	96	+10.2	383	24	+10.9	696	59	+10.1
Germans	688	320	+3.7	267	90	+5.4	421	230	+3.0
Belgians	647	347	+3.1	207	130	+2.3	440	217	+3.4
Jews	315	566	-2.6	125	195	-2.1	190	371	-2.9
Portuguese	157	1,291	-11.8	69	416	-10.5	88	875	-12.5
Natives	60	1,131	-11.2	34	290	-8.0	26	832	-12.6
Indians	27	1,825	-18.7	22	645	-18.9	5	1,180	-18.7
C. Coloured	28	1,860	-19.0	18	641	-18.9	10	1,219	-19.2

Group	Tolerance			Intolerance		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Eng.-sp. S.A.	65.8	55.8	70.0	..	..	..
Englishmen	63.3	51.6	69.4	..	..	0.2
Scotsmen	63.2	52.1	68.5	..	0.1	..
Hollanders	37.4	39.9	36.1	2.9	2.4	3.1
Afri.-sp. S.A.	37.4	38.6	36.8	3.3	1.9	4.1
Germans	23.9	27.0	22.3	11.1	9.1	12.2
Belgians	22.5	20.9	23.4	12.1	13.1	11.5
Jews	10.9	13.5	10.1	19.7	19.7	19.6
Portuguese	5.5	6.0	4.7	44.8	42.0	46.3
Natives	2.1	3.4	1.4	30.3	30.2	44.0
Indians	0.9	2.2	0.3	63.4	65.2	62.4
C. Coloured	1.0	1.8	0.5	64.6	64.6	64.5

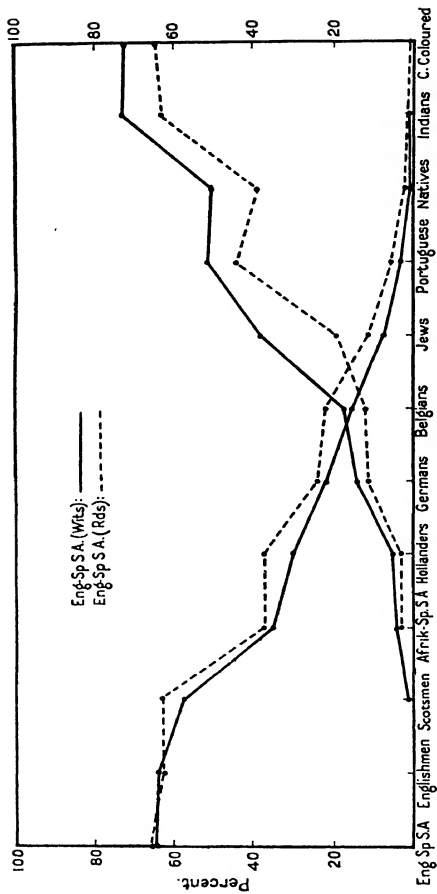


FIG. 7. Eng-sp. S.A. (Wits.), Eng-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

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TABLE XII—Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

Group	Total (100)			Men (74)			Women (26)		
	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.
Afrik.-sp. S.A. .	1,780	0	+17 8	1,272	0	+17 2	508	0	+19 5
Eng.-sp. S.A. .	1,387	21	+13 7	928	11	+11 0	459	10	+17 3
Hollanders .	1,126	133	+9 0	790	115	+9 1	336	18	+12 2
Englishmen .	1,027	170	+8 6	710	139	+7 7	317	31	+11 0
Germans .	808	152	+6 6	522	132	+5 3	286	20	+10 0
Scotsmen .	724	315	+4 1	502	246	+3 5	222	69	+6 4
Belgians .	246	1,019	-7 7	200	691	-6 6	46	328	-10 9
Jews .	6	1,562	-14 7	57	1,214	-15 6	36	548	-12 0
Portuguese .	0	1,865	-18 6	6	1,351	-18 2	0	514	-16 8
Natives .	0	2,083	-20 8	0	1,557	-21 0	0	520	-20 2
C. Coloured .	0	2,482	-24 8	0	1,841	-24 0	0	641	-24 7
Indians .	0	2,747	-27 5	0	2,053	-27 7	0	694	-26 7

Group	Tolerance			Intolerance		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Afrik.-sp. S.A. .	59 3	57 3	65 1	..	..	..
Eng.-sp. S.A. .	46 2	41 8	58 8	0 7	0 5	1 3
Hollanders .	37 5	35 6	43 1	4 4	5 2	2 3
Englishmen .	34 2	32 0	40 6	5 7	6 1	4 0
Germans .	26 0	23 5	36 5	5 1	6 0	2 6
Scotsmen .	24 1	22 6	28 5	10 5	11 1	8 8
Belgians .	8 2	9 0	5 9	14 0	11 1	42 1
Jews .	3 1	2 6	4 6	52 1	54 7	44 7
Portuguese .	0 2	0 3	..	62 2	60 9	65 0
Natives .	..	..	..	69 4	70 1	67 4
C. Coloured .	..	..	..	82 7	82 9	82 2
Indians .	..	..	..	91 8	92 5	89 0

TABLE XIII—Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

Group	Total (120)			Men (72)			Women (48)		
	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.	+	-	Av.
Afrik.-sp. S.A. .	2,511	0	+20 0	1,464	0	+20 3	1,047	0	+21 8
Hollanders .	1,432	84	+11 2	924	44	+12 2	508	40	+9 7
Eng.-sp. S.A. .	1,011	244	+6 4	540	147	+5 6	462	97	+7 6
Germans .	732	370	+2 9	474	227	+3 3	258	152	+2 2
Englishmen .	554	623	-0 6	255	394	-1 9	299	229	+1 4
Scotsmen .	184	1,344	-9 7	94	865	-10 6	90	479	-8 0
Belgians .	129	1,548	-11 8	109	955	-11 8	20	593	-11 9
Jews .	44	2,552	-20 7	11	1,664	-23 0	33	888	-17 8
Natives .	0	2,786	-23 2	0	1,594	-22 1	0	1,192	-24 8
Portuguese .	1	2,878	-24 0	0	1,718	-23 9	0	1,160	-24 2
C. Coloured .	0	3,608	-25 8	0	1,825	-25 3	0	1,273	-26 5
Indians .	0	3,547	-29 5	0	2,162	-30 0	0	1,385	-28 8

Group	Tolerance			Intolerance		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Afrik.-sp. S.A. .	69 8	67 8	72 7	..	..	..
Hollanders .	39 8	42 3	35 3	2 3	2 0	2 8
Eng.-sp. S.A. .	28 1	25 4	32 1	6 8	6 8	6 7
Germans .	20 3	21 9	10 5	10 5	17 8	10 5
Englishmen .	15 4	11 3	20 8	17 3	18 2	15 9
Scotsmen .	5 1	4 4	6 3	37 3	40 5	33 3
Belgians .	3 6	5 0	1 4	43 0	44 2	41 2
Jews .	1 2	0 5	2 3	70 9	77 0	61 6
Natives .	..	..	..	74 6	73 8	82 1
Portuguese .	..	..	..	79 9	79 5	80 5
C. Coloured .	..	..	..	85 8	84 5	88 4
Indians .	..	..	..	98 6	100 0	96 2

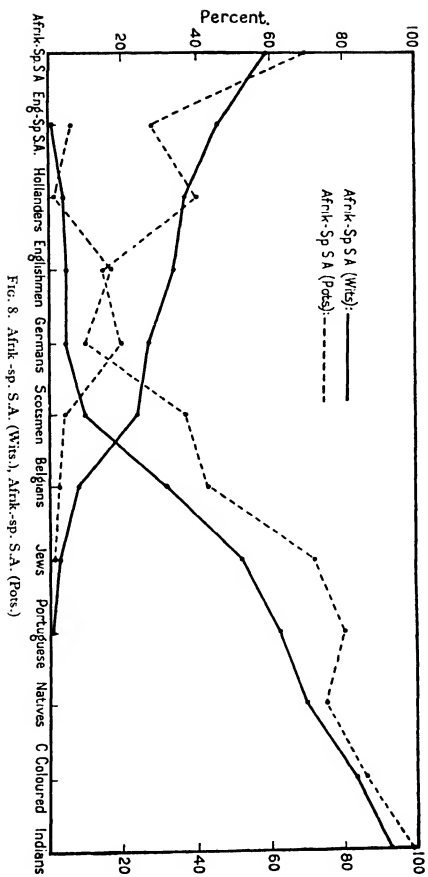


TABLE XIV

Jews (Wits.)

Group	Total (111)			Men (77)			Women (34)		
		-	Ar.	+	-	Ar.		-	Ar.
Jews	2,052	0	+18 5	1,328	0	+17 2	724	0	+21 3
Eng.-sp. S.A.	1,752	0	+15 8	1,130	0	+14 7	622	0	+18 3
Englishmen	1,500	2	+13 4	945	2	+12 2	555	0	+16 3
Scotsmen	1,001	01	+9 0	739	34	+9 2	352	57	+8 7
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	878	142	+6 6	579	98	+6 2	299	44	+7 5
Hollanders	828	234	+5 3	548	122	+5 5	280	112	+4 9
Belgians	824	358	+4 2	520	235	+3 7	304	124	+5 3
Portuguese	203	1,152	7 7	221	811	-7 7	72	341	-7 9
Germans	223	1,779	14 0	142	1,200	13 9	81	570	-14 4
Natives	78	1,384	11 8	36	967	12 1	42	417	-11 0
Indians	73	1,981	-17 2	32	1,123	18 1	43	558	-15 1
C. Coloured	37	2,053	-18 2	7	1,400	-18 1	30	653	-18 3

Group	Tolerance			Intolerance		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Jews	61 6	57 1	71 0			
Eng.-sp. S.A.	52 6	48 9	61 0			
Englishmen	45 0	40 9	54 4		0 1	
Scotsmen	32 8	32 0	34 5	2 7	1 5	5 6
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	26 1	25 1	29 3	4 3	4 2	4 3
Hollanders	24 0	23 7	27 4	7 0	5 3	11 0
Belgians	24 0	22 5	20 8	10 8	10 2	12 1
Portuguese	8 8	9 6	7 1	34 6	35 1	33 4
Germans	6 7	6 1	7 9	53 5	51 9	55 9
Natives	2 3	1 6	4 1	41 6	41 9	40 9
Indians	2 2	1 4	4 2	59 5	61 6	54 7
C. Coloured	1 1	0 3	2 9	61 6	60 6	64 0

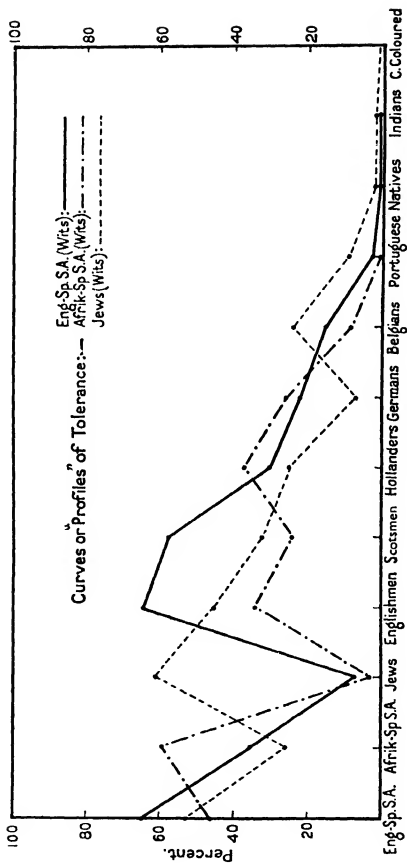


FIG. 9.

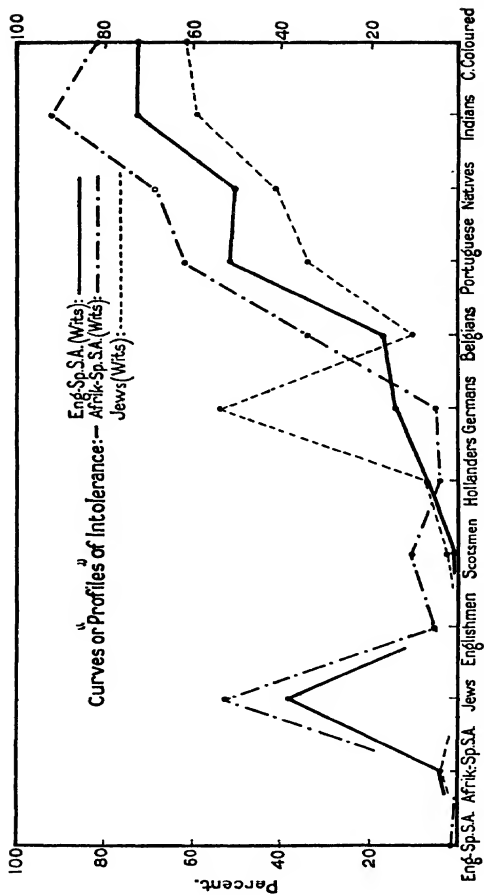


FIG. 10.

4. *Preliminary Interpretation of Results*

If we take the results of the experimental groups first, we find that there are significant differences in the average scores of the groups on the attitude scale as well as in the spread or dispersion of the scores. The greater this spread the greater is the tolerance for divergent opinions and the greater the variability of the group. While the distribution of scores of the Jewish group appears to be more heterogeneous than that of the English-speaking group, there is very little or no difference in their central tendencies as shown by their average scores. Both groups differ appreciably from the Afrikaans-speaking group in dispersion, in variability, and in central tendency, for the latter group leans heavily towards the anti-native end of the scale with a corresponding displacement of the central tendency. These facts confirm the prevalent view that the Afrikaans-speaking section of the population is, on the whole, less favourable towards the native than other sections, and may, therefore, be regarded as evidence in support of the validity of the scale. A general idea of this kind, however, remains vague and liable to distortion until it can be translated into quantitative and comparable terms, such as are provided by the tables and graphs of the preceding sections. The same features that characterize the groups as a whole also characterize the groups divided according to sex, except that the women groups appear to be slightly more heterogeneous than the corresponding men groups. The small size of some of the groups probably accounts for this greater irregularity of distribution.

A comparison between the results of the experimental and control groups does not bring out any new features, though some of the tendencies present in the former are emphasized in the latter. Thus the tendency towards a pro-native bias in the English-speaking group (Wits.) is slightly increased in the English-speaking group (Rds.). The assumption, therefore, that English-speaking subjects who come from the Eastern Province are likely to display a greater anti-native bias in their attitude than English-speaking subjects from other parts of the Union is disproved. The slightly greater tendency towards a pro-native bias may be due to the fact that the subjects at Rhodes were not all first-year students, for there is some evidence based on unpublished data to show that second-, third-, and fourth-year students (Wits.) are more favourable in their attitude than first-year students (Wits.). On the other hand, the Potchefstroom control group which, like the Grahams-town control group, was not confined to first-year students, not only shows the same characteristic anti-native bias as the Afrikaans-

speaking group (Wits.), but shows it to a greater degree. This group also has the least dispersion of attitudes or variability of any of the groups to which the scale was applied.

If we turn to the tables and curves that summarize the results obtained from the application of the questionnaire, we observe that in every case the tolerance for the 'in-group' is higher than that for any other group, though in some cases the tolerance for closely associated groups is very nearly the same. It is rather surprising to find that the tolerance for the in-group is relatively so low—not exceeding 70 per cent. for any group and falling below 60 per cent. in the case of one group. As we might expect, the curves of tolerance and intolerance are negatively correlated—a decreasing tolerance being accompanied by an increasing intolerance in a very uniform way. The only exception to this quite general rule is the special case of the tolerance-intolerance of Jews towards Germans, where a low tolerance is correlated with a disproportionately high intolerance. The nearer the curves approach one another the greater becomes the ambivalence, which is greatest for those questionnaire groups which are situated at, or near, the point of intersection.

The results show that certain of the questionnaire groups tend to occupy the same relative positions. Thus Portuguese, Natives, Indians, and Cape Coloured (or Cape Coloured and Indians) are placed in the same order of decreasing tolerance and of increasing intolerance by all the groups, experimental and control. The appreciable difference in intolerance on the part of the two English-speaking groups for Jews is a fact of some interest, since it seems to confirm the view that the popularity of Jews is in inverse ratio to their numbers. On the other hand, the intolerance of the Afrikaans-speaking group at Potchefstroom, where there is not a single Jew, is appreciably greater than that of the Afrikaans-speaking group at Johannesburg. There are, however, special reasons for this reversal of the usual tendency, since Potchefstroom is 'Dopper' or ultra-calvinistic on principle and for that reason may tend towards greater exclusiveness. At any rate, there is on the part of all the non-Jewish groups a strong anti-Jewish feeling, which is more strongly marked in the case of the Afrikaans-speaking groups as compared with the English-speaking groups.

This applies to the degree of tolerance-intolerance for other groups as well, since the two English-speaking groups show, on the whole, a greater tolerance and a lesser intolerance than do the two Afrikaans-speaking groups. There is also a closer agreement between the two English-speaking groups than between the two Afrikaans-speaking groups. The Potchefstroom group which has

the greatest tolerance for the in-group has also the greatest intolerance for the various out-groups, as well as the most unfavourable attitude towards the native. If we except the intolerance for Germans, the Jewish group shows the least intolerance of any group and the widest range of tolerance, which, surprisingly enough, includes, as a qualitative analysis of the results shows, quite a large degree of tolerance for intermarriage with certain non-Jewish groups, particularly English-speaking South Africans and Englishmen.

5. *Attitude towards the Native and Fair-mindedness*

Some preliminary evidence on the distribution of group attitudes towards the native, and on the relations between these attitudes and 'social distances' to other groups, has been discussed in the preceding section. Before a more detailed analysis is undertaken in the following chapter, it is proposed in this section to deal briefly with the results obtained from a test of fair-mindedness which was applied to a group who were also given the scale for measuring attitude towards the native. The question of the relation, if any, which exists between fair-mindedness and attitude towards the native may be answered in different ways which will, no doubt, be very largely determined by the attitude of the individual himself, without arriving at any conclusion one way or the other. The scientific value of such objective measures as the test and the scale is that, in dealing with a question of this kind, they do provide some evidence which may be significant and which must be taken seriously.

As a measure of fair-mindedness, there was available the elaborate and highly ingenious 'Test of Public Opinion' constructed by Goodwin B. Watson.¹ This test, which has a reliability of 0.96 for gross scores and whose correlation with criteria of validity is 0.85, ostensibly aims at finding out the opinions of subjects on a great variety of economic and religious issues. Its real aim, however, is to measure the

'tendency of an individual to manifest prejudice, by (a) crossing out controversial words as disagreeable or annoying; (b) by accusing sincere and competent persons who differ in opinion of being insincere and incompetent; (c) drawing from given facts conclusions which are in accord with the bias of the individual but which are not justified by those facts; (d) approving or condoning in one group acts which are condemned in some other group; (e) rating all the arguments on one side of a disputed question as strong and those on the other side as weak, regardless of the real strength of the arguments; and (f) attributing to all of the members of a group characteristics which are true of only a portion of the group.'

¹ *The Watson Test of Public Opinion*, Teachers College, N.Y., 1927.

According to data supplied by Watson, persons selected by their friends as most fair-minded obtained a gross score of 5 per cent.; persons selected by their friends as most prejudiced obtained a gross score of 55 per cent. In giving the test, the words 'fair-mindedness' and 'prejudice' are never used, since it is essential that the test should be regarded as what it professes to be, namely, a survey of public opinion. The test and the scale were applied to 110 subjects. The average score on the test was 26.8 per cent. with an *S.D.* of 8.6, and on the scale was 4.2 with an *S.D.* of 1.40. The coefficient of correlation as determined by the product-moment method was -0.009 with a *P.E.* of 0.64. The amount of correlation, therefore, between attitude towards the native (as measured by the scale) and fair-mindedness (as measured by the test) is not significantly different from zero.

This complete absence of correlation is a rather astonishing result, since, as a rule, we expect a fair-minded person to be more favourably, than unfavourably, inclined towards the native, while it is usually taken for granted, especially by those whose own attitude towards the native is favourable, that a favourable attitude is an indication of greater fair-mindedness on the part of the individual than an unfavourable attitude. On the other hand, when we bear in mind, (1) that 'fair-mindedness', like any other personality trait, is not an all-round, perfectly general feature which is displayed in every situation and on every occasion by the individual; (2) that it is not a trait which an individual either has or has not, but that it is a question of degree which may vary in the same individual for different situations just as it varies for different individuals in the same situation; (3) that we cannot measure 'fair-mindedness' in general but only in specific situations; (4) that an individual's 'prejudice' score (zero score indicating complete absence of prejudice or perfect fair-mindedness) is determined, not merely by the extent of his deviation from the normal in the direction of undue prejudice against, but also by the extent of his deviation in the direction of undue partiality for, certain opinions, beliefs, or points of view, then the absence of any correlation between 'fair-mindedness' and attitude towards the native becomes more intelligible.

XII

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

1. *Variability of Groups and Reliability of Differences between Groups*

IN this chapter we propose to apply certain familiar statistical methods of analysis to our data in order to determine (a) the variability of group scores in attitude towards the native and in social distance to other groups; (b) the reliability of the differences between average scores in attitude and in social distance; (c) the percentage determination of individual differences in scores due to variations in sex, in group membership, and in environment; (d) the amount of correlation between attitude towards the native and social distance to other groups as well as between social distances themselves; (e) the presence or absence of common factors which are shared by the attitude and certain of the social distances, or by certain of the social distances but not by the attitude; and (f) the amount of correlation with such common factors, and the percentage determination of attitude and of social distance by such common factors where they are found to exist.

The results of the foregoing analysis may then be used for throwing light upon such questions as the relative consistency of the experimental and control groups in attitude towards the native and in social distance to any particular questionnaire group or variable, as well as upon the relative consistency of each experimental or control group as a whole; the frequency of statistically reliable differences between groups which vary in environment, e.g. English-speaking (Wits.) and English-speaking (Rds.), or between groups which vary in social heritage, &c., e.g. English-speaking (Wits.) and Afrikaans-speaking (Wits.); the frequency of statistically reliable differences between men and women belonging to the same group; the role played by such factors as sex, group membership, and environment in determining individual differences; the extent to which attitude towards the native is linked with social distance to other groups; the extent to which social distance to the in-group is linked with social distance to other groups; the part played by specific and non-specific factors in determining social attitudes and social distances between groups.

TABLE XV
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

	Total 205			Men 141			Women 64		
	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.
Attitude	5.19	0.069	1.49	5.27	0.083	1.48	5.01	0.127	1.52
Belgians	-0.6	0.601	12.9	-1.1	0.745	13.3	+0.5	1.000	12.0
Scotsmen	110.9	0.471	10.1	116.9	0.571	10.2	110.9	0.817	9.8
Indians	-21.8	0.418	9.4	-22.3	0.476	8.5	-20.6	0.802	10.7
Eng.-sp. S.A.	+19.6	0.378	8.1	+19.5	0.451	8.4	+19.8	0.753	8.2
Germans	1.21	0.610	13.7	+2.7	0.745	13.1	1.15	1.208	14.5
C. Coloured	21.8	0.364	7.8	23.0	0.437	7.8	19.3	0.633	7.6
Portuguese	14.6	0.540	11.6	14.1	0.611	11.5	15.2	0.975	11.7
Natives	-14.0	0.322	6.9	-14.0	0.381	6.8	-15.1	0.592	7.1
Hollanders	+7.0	0.559	12.0	16.9	0.666	11.9	17.4	1.025	12.3
Afri.-sp. S.A.	1.94	0.516	11.5	10.3	0.622	11.1	17.2	1.050	12.6
Jews	9.4	0.666	14.3	9.9	0.790	14.1	8.1	1.217	14.6
Englishmen	19.3	0.364	7.8	19.5	0.437	7.8	19.1	0.650	7.8

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

	Total 96			Men 33			Women 63		
	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.
Attitude	4.81	0.099	1.45	4.70	0.161	1.41	4.86	0.124	1.48
Belgians	1.31	0.891	13.1	1.3	1.198	12.8	1.34	1.108	13.2
Scotsmen	18.9	0.578	8.5	15.9	1.000	8.0	120.5	0.709	8.4
Indians	18.7	0.646	9.5	18.7	1.331	11.4	18.9	0.922	8.3
Eng.-sp. S.A.	19.8	0.578	8.5	16.7	1.000	8.6	21.3	0.711	8.5
Germans	3.7	0.811	12.3	15.4	1.168	11.7	1.10	1.066	12.7
C. Coloured	-19.0	0.610	9.1	18.9	1.122	11.3	-19.2	0.655	7.8
Portuguese	11.8	0.801	13.1	10.5	1.579	13.8	12.5	1.066	12.7
Natives	11.2	0.571	8.1	8.0	1.158	9.9	12.6	0.638	7.6
Hollanders	10.4	0.728	10.7	10.9	1.123	9.6	10.1	0.949	11.3
Afri.-sp. S.A.	10.2	0.735	10.8	11.4	1.061	9.1	9.6	0.974	11.6
Jews	2.6	0.755	11.1	2.1	1.392	11.9	2.9	0.898	10.7
Englishmen	18.8	0.565	8.1	15.5	0.916	8.0	20.8	0.714	8.5

TABLE XVI
Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

	Total 100			Men 74			Women 26		
	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.
Attitude	6.61	0.066	1.0	6.72	0.075	0.97	6.41	0.145	1.11
Belgians	7.7	0.886	13.1	-6.9	1.015	13.1	10.9	1.817	13.9
Scotsmen	4.1	0.810	12.6	1.5	0.977	12.6	16.4	1.634	12.5
Indians	27.5	0.293	4.4	27.7	0.341	4.4	26.7	0.688	4.5
Eng.-sp. S.A.	11.7	0.686	10.1	11.0	0.783	10.1	17.1	1.399	10.7
Germans	6.6	0.706	10.6	15.3	0.783	10.1	110.0	1.556	11.9
C. Coloured	24.8	0.360	5.4	24.9	0.426	5.5	24.7	0.706	5.2
Portuguese	18.6	0.626	9.4	18.2	0.721	9.3	19.8	1.255	9.6
Natives	20.8	0.313	4.7	21.0	0.349	4.5	20.2	0.706	5.2
Hollanders	9.9	0.866	13.0	9.1	0.992	12.8	12.2	1.752	13.4
Afri.-sp. S.A.	17.8	0.520	7.9	17.2	0.582	7.5	19.5	1.189	9.1
Jews	14.7	0.813	12.2	15.6	0.946	12.2	12.0	1.595	12.2
Englishmen	8.9	0.866	13.0	7.7	0.985	12.7	11.0	1.804	13.8

EXPERIMENTAL

TABLE XVI (cont.)
Afrikan.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

	Total: 120			Men: 72			Women: 48		
	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.
Attitude	6.97	0.055	0.91	6.99	0.068	0.87	6.06	0.092	0.96
Belgians	11.8	0.613	10.4	11.8	0.802	10.2	11.9	1.039	10.8
Scotsmen	9.7	0.688	11.1	10.6	0.873	11.1	8.0	1.116	11.6
Indians	29.5	0.041	1.5	30.0	0.118	1.5	28.8	0.144	1.5
Eng.-sp. S.A.	16.4	0.773	12.7	15.6	0.943	12.0	17.6	1.289	13.4
Germans	12.9	0.688	11.3	13.3	0.936	11.9	12.2	0.967	10.1
C. Coloured	24.8	0.117	5.2	25.3	0.464	5.0	26.5	0.376	3.9
Portuguese	24.0	0.108	6.7	23.9	0.495	6.3	24.2	0.703	7.3
Natives	23.2	0.292	4.8	22.1	0.577	4.8	24.8	0.443	4.6
Hollanders	11.2	0.676	11.1	12.2	0.872	11.1	10.7	1.087	11.2
Afrikan.-sp. S.A.	12.9	0.457	7.5	12.0	0.590	7.5	11.4	0.732	7.6
Jews	20.7	0.578	9.5	21.0	0.574	7.3	17.8	1.106	12.0
Englishmen	0.6	0.768	12.6	1.9	0.920	11.7	1.4	1.337	13.9

TABLE XVII
Jews (Wits.)

	Total: 111			Men: 77			Women: 34		
	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.	Av.	P.E.	S.D.
Attitude	5.05	0.089	1.42	5.05	0.106	1.39	5.01	0.162	1.47
Belgians	14.2	0.709	11.2	13.7	0.806	10.6	15.1	1.418	12.4
Scotsmen	10.0	0.597	8.9	10.2	0.593	7.8	18.7	1.258	11.0
Indians	17.2	0.652	10.1	18.1	0.677	8.9	15.1	1.475	12.9
Eng.-sp. S.A.	16.8	0.494	7.8	14.7	0.585	7.7	18.3	0.938	8.2
Germans	11.0	1.038	10.4	11.9	1.178	15.5	14.4	1.944	17.0
C. Coloured	18.2	0.620	9.8	18.1	0.677	8.9	18.3	1.136	11.6
Portuguese	7.7	0.706	12.1	7.7	0.927	12.2	7.9	1.115	11.5
Natives	16.8	0.589	9.3	12.1	0.616	8.5	11.0	1.258	11.0
Hollanders	15.1	0.684	10.8	15.5	0.722	9.5	14.9	1.509	13.2
Afrikan.-sp. S.A.	16.6	0.627	9.9	16.2	0.730	9.6	7.5	1.201	10.5
Jews	18.5	0.525	8.1	17.2	0.661	8.7	21.3	0.835	7.3
Englishmen	11.1	0.181	7.6	12.2	0.578	7.6	16.3	0.880	7.7

We may compare the consistency of the different groups in attitude towards the native in terms of the coefficient of variation ($V = \frac{100 S.D.}{Av.}$).

Coefficients of Variation

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)	Total: 28.7.	Men: 28.1.	Women: 28.8
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)	" 30.1.	" 30.0.	" 30.5
Afrikan.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)	" 15.1.	" 14.4.	" 17.3
Afrikan.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)	" 13.0.	" 12.4.	" 13.8
Jews (Wits.)	" 28.1.	" 27.5.	" 29.2

The results show a fairly close agreement in consistency between the experimental and control groups, while in every case the men are slightly more consistent than the women, though in some cases the difference is very small. If we take as our standard the consistency of the Afrikaans-speaking group (Pots.), we find that the Afrikaans-speaking group (Wits.) is 1.16 times as variable, the

English-speaking group (Wits.) is 2.21 times as variable, the English-speaking group (Rds.) is 2.32 times as variable, and the Jews (Wits.) are 2.16 times as variable. Since the coefficient of variation in social distance cannot be calculated owing to the positive and negative values of the average scores, we may take as an approximate measure of consistency the standard deviations themselves.

TABLE XVIII
*Reliability of Differences in Average Score—
Eng.-sp. (Wits.) and Eng.-sp. (Rds.)*

	Diff. in Av. Score Total (Wits. & Rds.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men & Women (Wits.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men & Women (Rds.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men (Wits.) & Men (Rds.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Women (Wits.) & Women (Rds.)	P.E. (diff.)
Attitude	0.380	0.121	0.240	0.152	0.160	0.205	0.570	0.184	0.170	0.177
Belgians	3.7	1.074	1.6	1.247	1.1	1.863	1.2	1.073	2.0	1.492
Scotsmen	2.0	0.746	1.7	0.997	4.6	1.226	1.0	1.151	1.7	1.082
Indians	0.1	0.780	0.7	1.011	0.2	1.502	1.6	1.415	1.7	1.120
Eng.-sp. S.A.	0.2	0.601	0.3	0.810	4.6	1.220	2.8	1.098	1.5	0.988
Germans	1.4	1.050	1.2	1.419	2.4	1.734	2.7	1.558	1.5	1.087
C. Coloured	2.8	0.718	3.7	0.769	0.3	1.475	4.1	1.392	0.1	0.911
Portuguese	2.8	1.012	0.9	1.168	2.0	1.905	3.8	1.676	2.7	1.445
Natives	2.7	0.655	0.5	0.704	4.6	1.322	6.6	1.210	2.5	0.870
Hollanders	3.4	0.918	0.5	1.222	0.8	1.471	4.0	1.306	2.7	1.397
Afrk.-sp. S.A.	0.8	0.909	3.1	1.221	1.8	1.442	1.1	1.232	2.4	1.432
Jews	6.8	1.007	1.6	1.451	0.8	1.656	7.8	1.601	5.4	1.512
Englishmen	0.5	0.672	0.4	0.783	1.77	1.177	4.0	1.031	1.7	0.966

TABLE XIX
*Reliability of Differences in Average Score—
Afrik.-sp. (Wits.) and Afrik.-sp. (Pots.)*

	Diff. in Av. Score Total (Wits. & Pots.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men & Women (Wits.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men & Women (Pots.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Men (Wits.) & Men (Pots.)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Women (Wits.) & Women (Pots.)	P.E. (diff.)
Attitude	0.330	0.086	0.110	0.163	0.030	0.114	0.270	0.101	0.550	0.172
Belgians	4.1	1.080	4.3	2.081	0.1	1.313	5.2	1.294	1.0	2.093
Scotsmen	13.8	1.078	2.9	1.904	2.6	1.417	14.1	1.310	14.4	1.909
Indians	2.0	0.307	1.0	0.680	1.2	0.186	2.3	0.361	2.1	0.605
Eng.-sp. S.A.	7.3	1.034	6.3	1.603	2.0	1.597	5.4	1.227	9.7	1.902
Germans	3.7	0.986	4.7	1.742	1.1	1.346	2.0	1.220	7.8	1.832
C. Coloured	1.0	0.480	0.2	0.824	1.2	0.597	0.1	0.630	1.8	0.800
Portuguese	5.4	0.747	1.6	1.447	0.3	0.860	5.7	0.875	4.4	1.438
Natives	2.4	0.414	0.8	0.789	2.7	0.582	1.1	0.514	4.6	0.833
Hollanders	1.3	1.099	3.1	2.013	2.5	1.394	3.1	1.321	2.5	2.119
Afrk.-sp. S.A.	2.3	0.697	2.7	1.361	1.5	0.940	3.1	0.829	2.3	1.306
Jews	6.0	0.998	3.0	1.854	5.2	1.246	7.4	1.111	5.8	1.941
Englishmen	9.3	1.157	3.3	2.055	3.3	1.623	9.6	1.348	9.6	2.245

With the Afrikaans-speaking group (Pots.) as standard again, we find that for all the questionnaire groups the Afrikaans-speaking group (Wits.) is 11.7 per cent. more variable, the English-speaking group (Wits.) is 20.5 per cent. more variable, the English-speaking group (Rds.) is 18.0 per cent. more variable, and the Jews (Wits.) are 17.0 per cent. more variable.

The differences in average scores for the experimental and control groups are summarized in Tables XVIII to XXII. The statistically reliable differences are italicized in each table.

TABLE XX
*Reliability of Differences in Average Score—
Eng.-sp. (Wits.) and Afrik.-sp. (Wits.)*

	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score, Total (Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score, Men (Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score, Women (Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>
Attitude	1.45	0.0095	1.45	0.112	1.38	0.191
Belgians	7.1	1.071	5.5	1.259	11.4	2.141
Scotsmen	12.8	0.951	13.4	1.131	10.5	1.827
Indians	5.7	0.527	5.4	0.586	6.1	1.068
Eng.-sp. S.A.	5.9	0.781	8.5	0.905	2.5	1.557
German	4.3	0.952	2.6	1.081	8.5	1.070
C. Coloured	3.0	0.512	0.1	0.610	5.4	0.948
Portuguese	4.0	0.827	3.9	0.967	4.6	1.589
Natives	5.9	0.119	6.4	0.517	5.1	0.921
Hollanders	2.9	1.031	2.3	1.195	4.8	2.029
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	8.4	0.751	6.9	0.852	12.3	1.586
Jews	5.1	1.051	5.7	1.232	1.7	2.006
Englishmen	10.7	0.919	11.8	1.078	8.1	1.917

TABLE XXI
*Reliability of Differences in Average Score—
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Jews (Wits.)*

	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score Eng.-sp. (Total) & Jews (Total)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score Eng.-sp. (Men) & Jews (Men)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score Eng.-sp. (Women) & Jews (Women)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>	<i>Diffs. in Av. Score Men & Women (Jews)</i>	<i>P.E. (diff.)</i>
Attitude	0.14	0.111	0.22	0.111	0.01	0.206	0.01	0.194
Belgians	4.8	0.929	4.8	1.007	4.8	1.715	1.1	1.611
Scotsmen	7.9	0.717	7.7	0.821	8.2	1.500	0.3	1.191
Indians	4.6	0.785	4.2	0.828	5.5	1.724	2.1	1.622
Eng.-sp. S.A.	3.8	0.622	4.8	0.740	1.5	1.160	2.5	1.106
German	16.1	1.218	16.6	1.394	15.9	2.059	0.4	2.274
C. Coloured	3.6	0.719	4.9	0.806	1.0	1.469	0.1	1.589
Portuguese	6.9	0.917	6.6	1.129	7.3	1.617	0.2	1.609
Natives	3.1	0.671	2.5	0.750	4.1	1.190	0.8	1.114
Hollanders	1.7	0.851	1.1	0.982	2.5	1.821	0.4	1.673
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	2.8	0.825	4.1	0.959	0.1	1.595	0.9	1.405
Jews	27.9	0.818	27.1	1.020	29.6	1.476	2.8	1.065
Englishmen	5.9	0.601	7.3	0.725	2.8	1.094	2.9	1.053

TABLE XXII

*Reliability of Differences in Average Score—
Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Jews (Wits.)*

	Diff. in Av. Score Afrik.-sp. (Total) and Jews (Total)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Afrik.-sp. (Men) and Jews (Men)	P.E. (diff.)	Diff. in Av. Score Afrik.-sp. (Women) and Jews (Women)	P.E. (diff.)
Attitude	1.59	0.111	1.67	0.130	1.37	0.217
Belgians	11.9	1.135	10.3	1.296	16.2	2.105
Negroesmen	4.9	1.005	5.7	1.143	2.3	2.062
Indians	10.3	0.715	9.6	0.738	11.6	1.588
Eng.-sp. S.A.	2.1	0.845	3.7	0.977	1.0	1.684
Germans	20.6	1.255	19.2	1.414	24.4	2.490
C. Coloured	6.6	0.717	6.8	0.800	6.4	1.502
Portuguese	10.9	0.689	10.5	1.171	11.9	1.818
Natives	9.0	0.667	8.9	0.714	9.2	1.449
Hollanders	4.6	1.103	1.6	1.227	7.3	2.512
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	11.2	0.818	11.0	0.934	12.0	1.690
Jews	33.2	0.968	32.8	1.154	33.3	1.800
Englishmen	4.8	0.991	4.5	1.142	5.1	2.006

2. Percentage Determination of Individual Differences due to Variations in (a) Sex, (b) Environment, (c) Group Membership

Where significant differences are found to exist between the scores or performances of groups, further analysis is required in order to discover what are the factors that may contribute to this result, and to what extent (in terms of per cent.) variations in these factors play a part in determining individual differences between members of a group. For the purpose of this analysis, there appeared to be at least three factors or variables that might be regarded as relevant, namely, (a) the factor of sex, as illustrated by the differences in scores between men and women within any group; (b) the factor of environment, as illustrated by the differences in scores between the experimental and control groups; (c) the factor of group membership, as illustrated by the differences in scores between the three experimental groups. These three factors will all be regarded as examples of the discontinuous or dichotomous type of variable as contrasted with the continuous type of variable which is illustrated by such a factor as age. This assumption is, of course, entirely valid with regard to such a factor as sex, since the individual is either male or female; it may be regarded as sufficiently valid for such a factor as group membership, since the individual, as a rule, has no difficulty in deciding that he belongs to one group rather than another; it is probably least valid for such a factor as environment, which is not easy to define in any positive or concrete sense. For our purposes we may regard it as equivalent to social environment, with its variations in multiplicity of, and opportunity for, social contacts, its differences in 'social atmosphere'.

The statistical method for the percentage determination of individual differences by variations in discontinuous factors is given by Tryon.¹ As the most suitable measure of individual differences in scores of members of a group, we may take the variance or square of the *S.D.* of the group. Let $s_{x \cdot 1}^2$ denote the variance of one group (men), N_1 , in a given variable, such as attitude towards the native, and let $s_{x \cdot 2}^2$ denote the variance of another group (women), N_2 , in the same variable; then the variance of individual differences between members of both groups in attitude towards the native, *due to other factors than sex*, that is, variations between individuals of the same sex, may be considered to have approximately the following weighted average value:

$$s_{x \cdot \text{other}}^2 = s_{x \cdot \text{sex}}^2 = \frac{N_1 s_{x \cdot 1}^2 + N_2 s_{x \cdot 2}^2}{N_1 + N_2}.$$

The full variance of x , *due to all factors* (including sex) causing individual differences in both groups, is s_x^2 , and may be derived from the variances of the two groups, according to the following formula:

$$s_x^2 = N_1 [s_{x \cdot 1}^2 + (M_1 - M_r)^2] + N_2 [s_{x \cdot 2}^2 + (M_2 - M_r)^2],$$

$$N_1 + N_2$$

where M_r is the composite weighted mean which can be derived from the means of the two groups, according to the following formula:

$$M_r = \frac{N_1 M_1 + N_2 M_2}{N_1 + N_2}.$$

The first formula gives the variance due to all factors other than sex; the second formula gives the full variance due to all factors, including sex. According to definition, the percentage determination of individual differences due to any given factor or factors is found by dividing the variance due to that factor or factors by the total variance due to all factors.

Hence, $\frac{s_{x \cdot \text{other}}^2}{s_x^2} = \frac{s_{x \cdot \text{sex}}^2}{s_x^2}$ = per cent. of x variance due to other factors than sex;

and $1 - \frac{s_{x \cdot \text{other}}^2}{s_x^2} = \frac{s_{x \cdot \text{sex}}^2}{s_x^2}$ = per cent. of x variance due to variation in sex.

The per cents. of variance for the experimental and control groups due to the relevant factors are summarized in Tables XXIII to XXVII.

¹ Robert C. Tryon, 'Individual Differences in Maze Ability. II. The Determination of Individual Differences by Age, Weight, Sex, and Pigmentation', *Journal of Comparative Psychology*, vol. xii. no. 1, 1931.

TABLE XXIII

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

<i>Total (Wits. & Rds.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Environment</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Jews	6·8	Variance in Social Distance	5·3
Natives	2·7	" " "	5·1
<i>Men & Women (Wits.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Sex</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
C. Coloured	3·7	Variance in Social Distance	4·8
<i>Men & Women (Rds.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Sex</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Englishmen	5·3	Variance in Social Distance	8·3
<i>Men (Wits. & Rds.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Environment</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Jews	7·8	Variance in Social Distance	4·7
Natives	6·6	" " "	10·7

TABLE XXIV

Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

<i>Total (Wits. & Pots.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Environment</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Scotsmen	13·8	Variance in Social Distance	23·1
Englishmen	9·2	" " "	14·6
Eng.-sp. S.A.	7·3	" " "	8·8
Jews	6·0	" " "	6·3
Portuguese	5·4	" " "	10·1
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	3·1	" " "	5·1
Natives	2·4	" " "	14·7
Indians	2·0	" " "	9·0
<i>Men & Women (Pots.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Sex</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Jews	5·2	Variance in Social Distance	6·8
Natives	2·7	" " "	7·3
Indians	1·2	" " "	13·5
<i>Men (Wits. & Pots.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Environment</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Scotsmen	14·1	Variance in Social Distance	25·9
Englishmen	9·6	" " "	13·4
Jews	7·4	" " "	11·9
Portuguese	5·7	" " "	11·7
Eng.-sp. S.A.	5·4	" " "	5·6
Belgians	5·2	" " "	9·4
Indians	2·3	" " "	10·9
<i>Women (Wits. & Pots.)</i>	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation in Environment</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Scotsmen	14·4	Variance in Social Distance	24·9
Eng.-sp. S.A.	9·7	" " "	10·1
Englishmen	9·6	" " "	9·8
Germans	7·8	" " "	10·3
Natives	4·6	" " "	17·2

TABLE XXV

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

<i>Total</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>			
Native	1.45	Variance in Attitude		20.2
Scotsmen	12.8	Variance in Social Distance		23.0
Englishmen	10.7	" " "		20.8
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	8.4	" " "		12.5
Belgians	7.1	" " "		6.1
Eng.-sp. S.A.	5.9	" " "		8.9
Natives	5.9	" " "		16.4
Indians	5.7	" " "		9.8
Jews	5.3	" " "		3.1
Germans	4.3	" " "		2.5
Portuguese	4.0	" " "		2.9
C. Coloured	3.0	" " "		6.7
<i>Men</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>			
Native	1.45	Variance in Attitude		17.9
Scotsmen	13.4	Variance in Social Distance		21.1
Englishmen	11.8	" " "		18.8
Eng.-sp. S.A.	8.5	" " "		17.3
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	6.9	" " "		9.7
Natives	6.4	" " "		19.9
Jews	5.7	" " "		1.5
Belgians	5.5	" " "		3.7
Indians	5.4	" " "		10.9
Portuguese	3.9	" " "		2.9
<i>Women</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Afrik.-sp.</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>			
Native	1.38	Variance in Attitude		14.1
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	12.3	Variance in Social Distance		18.5
Belgians	11.4	" " "		14.4
Scotsmen	10.5	" " "		16.0
Germans	8.5	" " "		18.1
Englishmen	8.1	" " "		12.1
Indians	6.1	" " "		8.0
C. Coloured	5.4	" " "		10.9
Natives	5.1	" " "		10.9

TABLE XXVI

Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Jews (Wits.)

<i>Total</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Jews</i>)	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>			<i>Per cent.</i>
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>			
Jews	27.9				53.1
Germans	16.3	"	"	"	21.9
Scotsmen	7.9	"	"	"	13.6
Portuguese	6.9	"	"	"	7.2
Englishmen	5.9	"	"	"	12.0
Belgians	4.8	"	"	"	3.1
Indians	4.6	"	"	"	5.1
Eng.-sp. S.A.	3.8	"	"	"	4.9
C. Coloured	3.6	"	"	"	3.9
Natives	3.1	"	"	"	3.4
<i>Men</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Jews</i>)	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>			<i>Per cent.</i>
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>			
Jews	27.1				51.8
Germans	16.6	"	"	"	24.1
Scotsmen	7.7	"	"	"	13.2
Englishmen	7.3	"	"	"	16.1
Portuguese	6.6	"	"	"	6.7
C. Coloured	4.9	"	"	"	7.5
Eng.-sp. S.A.	4.8	"	"	"	7.7
Belgians	4.8	"	"	"	2.2
Indians	4.2	"	"	"	5.5
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	4.1	"	"	"	3.9
<i>Women</i> (<i>Eng.-sp. & Jews</i>)	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>			<i>Per cent.</i>
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>			
Jews	29.6				55.7
Germans	15.9	"	"	"	19.9
Scotsmen	8.2	"	"	"	13.5
Portuguese	7.3	"	"	"	8.9

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TABLE XXVII

Afrik.-sp. S.A. (Wits.) and Jews (Wits.)

<i>Total</i> (<i>Afrik.-sp. & Jews</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variance in Attitude</i>		
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>		
Native	1.59			29.2
Jews	33.2			68.1
Germans	20.6	"	"	35.2
Belgians	11.9	"	"	21.1
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	11.2	"	"	27.7
Portuguese	10.9	"	"	19.9
Indians	10.3	"	"	28.9
Natives	9.0	"	"	26.5
C. Coloured	6.6	"	"	14.6
Scotsmen	4.9	"	"	4.9
Englishmen	4.8	"	"	4.9
Hollanders	4.6	"	"	3.6
<i>Men</i> (<i>Afrik.-sp. & Jews</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variance in Attitude</i>		
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>		
Native	1.67			34.5
Jews	32.8			71.9
Germans	19.2	"	"	34.5
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	11.0	"	"	29.9
Portuguese	10.5	"	"	19.5
Belgians	10.3	"	"	16.5
Indians	9.6	"	"	31.6
Natives	8.9	"	"	29.7
C. Coloured	6.8	"	"	17.3
Scotsmen	5.7	"	"	6.9
<i>Women</i> (<i>Afrik.-sp. & Jews</i>)		<i>Variation</i> <i>in Group Membership</i>		<i>Per cent.</i>
	<i>Av. Diff.</i>	<i>Variance in Attitude</i>		
		<i>Variance in Social Distance</i>		
Native	1.37			20.8
Jews	33.3			74.2
Germans	24.4	"	"	39.4
Belgians	16.2	"	"	27.0
Afrik.-sp. S.A.	12.0	"	"	26.4
Portuguese	11.9	"	"	23.2
Indians	11.6	"	"	24.3
Natives	9.2	"	"	20.6
C. Coloured	6.4	"	"	10.3

3. *Correlation and Common Factors*

In this section our main problem consists in the discovery and location of common or non-specific factors with a view to determining the range of such factors and the extent to which they play a part in affecting attitude or social distance. In a purely conjectural way we may consider three possibilities: (a) that there is a common or perfectly general factor which is shared by all the variables and which may be thought of as an individual's attitude, as such, in a social or group situation; (b) that there is no common factor present in any two or more of the variables and that the

individual's attitude in every group situation is entirely specific to that situation; (c) that there is a common factor present in some, but not in all the variables, so that the questionnaire groups or variables tend to fall together into sets, each set linked together by its own common or non-specific factor.

As a first step in dealing with our problem the correlations between attitudes towards the native and social distances to the questionnaire variables were calculated for each of the experimental and control groups. These correlations, corrected for attenuation, together with their probable errors, are given in the following table:

TABLE XXVIII

Attitude	Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)		Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)		Afr.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)		Afr.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)		Jews (Wits.)	
	r.	p.e.	r.	p.e.	r.	p.e.	r.	p.e.	r.	p.e.
Belgians . . .	0.448	0.037	0.395	0.057	0.374	0.058	0.010	0.061	0.142	0.062
Scotsmen . . .	0.032	0.047	0.112	0.067	0.121	0.066	0.283	0.056	0.257	0.059
Indians . . .	0.501	0.035	0.607	0.043	0.446	0.053	0.243	0.057	0.547	0.044
Eng.-sp. S.A.	0.074	0.046	0.040	0.068	0.188	0.064	0.251	0.057	0.163	0.062
Germans . . .	0.126	0.046	0.416	0.056	0.077	0.066	0.097	0.060	0.263	0.059
C. Coloured . .	0.435	0.038	0.464	0.053	0.418	0.055	0.398	0.051	0.511	0.044
Portuguese . .	0.419	0.038	0.311	0.061	0.401	0.056	0.469	0.047	0.368	0.055
Natives . . .	0.839	0.014	0.703	0.034	0.491	0.051	0.359	0.053	0.786	0.024
Hollanders . .	0.166	0.045	0.419	0.056	0.038	0.067	0.138	0.059	0.307	0.057
Afr.-sp. S.A.	0.024	0.046	0.396	0.057	0.239	0.061	0.060	0.060	0.108	0.057
Jews . . .	0.205	0.045	0.547	0.049	0.204	0.064	0.223	0.058	0.114	0.062
Englishmen . .	0.146	0.046	0.010	0.068	0.092	0.066	0.274	0.056	0.205	0.061

We may now proceed to calculate the inter-correlations of those questionnaire variables the correlations of whose social distance with attitude exceed four times their probable errors. If we apply Spearman's criterion of 'tetrad differences', according to which, given four variables, a , b , p , q , and the inter-correlations between them, we can determine the presence of a factor common to the four variables, provided that the equation $r_{ap} \times r_{bq} - r_{aq} \times r_{bp} = 0$ is satisfied within the limits of not more than five times the probable error of the tetrad difference which forms the left side of the equation,¹ to our table of inter-correlations, we shall be able to discover the range of any non-specific factor which is shared in common by attitude towards the native and social distance to not less than three of the questionnaire variables or groups.

Taking each experimental and control group in turn, we find that for the *English-speaking South Africans (Wits.)* the table of inter-correlations (Table XXIX) satisfies the criterion.

In accordance with the criterion we can draw the conclusion that all the factors determining the variables can be divided into two kinds, namely, a single factor common to all the variables, which may, however, have any degree of complexity, and a

¹ C. S. Spearman, *Abilities of Man*, Appendix, i-iii.

TABLE XXIX

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Attitude	..	0.501	0.448	0.435	0.419
2. Indians	0.501	..	0.570	0.558	0.530
3. Belgians	0.448	0.570	..	0.565	0.666
4. C. Coloured	0.435	0.558	0.565	..	0.656
5. Portuguese	0.419	0.530	0.666	0.656	..

Probable error: 0.024

specific factor (or factors) which is peculiar to each variable or not shared by any other of the variables. According to the two-factor theory, whenever any table of inter-correlations fails to satisfy the criterion, then we are dealing with yet a third kind of factor which is neither entirely common to all the variables nor entirely specific to any one variable, but which overlaps, that is, which is shared by two or more, though not by all, of the variables concerned. Such a case of overlapping occurs, for example, when social distance to the native is introduced as an additional variable in the foregoing table, since the criterion is not satisfied in that case. We may assume in such a case that the overlapping probably occurs between the two variables, 'attitude towards the native' and 'social distance to the native', and that the high correlation ($r = 0.839$) between these two variables is an instance of 'super-correlation', that is, correlation which is due not only to the common factor which is shared by all the other variables, but also to the additional overlapping or non-specific factor which is shared by them but not by the other variables.

In the same way we can calculate the inter-correlations between the English-speaking South Africans (Wits.) and other groups of the questionnaire, which are not included in Table XXIX, in order to discover the range of any common factor which is present in the social distance to the 'in-group' and the social distance to such 'out-groups'. The following table which satisfies the criterion is the result:

TABLE XXX

	1	2	3	4
1. Eng-sp S.A.	..	0.701	0.477	0.489
2. Englishmen	0.701	..	0.489	0.335
3. Scotsmen	0.477	0.489	..	0.367
4. Afrik-sp S.A.	0.489	0.335	0.367	..

Probable error: 0.023

The foregoing analysis leaves us with three of the questionnaire groups, namely, Hollanders, Germans, and Jews, for whom a

place cannot be found in either of the two sets, each linked together by a common factor. An attempt was made to determine whether the failure of the Hollander group to be included in the second set was not due to an overlapping factor between Hollanders and Afrikaans-speaking South Africans. The substitution of the former for the latter in the table, however, leads to a failure to satisfy the criterion, so that although there is a factor which is common to both these groups ($r = 0.579$), it is not a factor which is shared in common by all the other groups of the table. The possibility that these three remaining groups form part of yet a third set cannot be put to the test, since there must be at least four variables in order to apply the tetrad criterion.

For the control group of *English-speaking South Africans (Rds.)*, the application of the criterion to the inter-correlations of attitude and of social distance yields the following sets of groups whose inter-correlations satisfy the criterion in each case:

Attitude Indians Jews C. Coloured	Attitude Indians Jews Belgians	Attitude Indians Jews Hollanders	Attitude Indians Jews Afrik.-sp. S.A
Attitude Indians Jews Germans	Natives Indians Jews C. Coloured	Natives Indians Portuguese Belgians	Jews C. Coloured Belgians Portuguese

If we take it for granted that the criterion only applies when the factors present in any set of variables are divisible into a single common factor and the factor (or factors) specific to each variable, then from the arrangement of the variables in the sets given above, we can infer that there is a single factor common to attitude towards the native and social distance to Indians, Jews, Cape Coloured, Belgians, Hollanders, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, and Germans, but that, in addition to this common factor and the specific factors of each set, there are also several overlapping factors present. Thus, besides the common factor which they share with the other groups, there is an additional non-specific or overlapping factor linking together Jews, Cape Coloured, Belgians (and Portuguese). Again, there is an overlapping factor in the case of attitude towards the native and social distance to natives, while Hollanders, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, and Germans share in yet another overlapping factor.

For purposes of comparison, the inter-correlations of the same set of variables or groups of which the English-speaking South African group was a member in the experimental group is given for the control group in the following table:

TABLE XXXI

	1	2	3	4
1. Eng -sp. S.A.	..	0.890	0.730	0.442
2. Englishmen	0.890	..	0.791	0.432
3. Scotsmen	0.730	0.791	..	0.436
4. Afr -sp. S.A.	0.442	0.432	0.436	..

Probable error: 0.032

In this case, however, the criterion is not satisfied, thus indicating the presence of an overlapping factor, so that the division into a single common factor and specific factors, as in the comparable case, is not possible. The presence of this third factor being known by the failure of the criterion to apply, the fact of the high inter-correlations ('super-correlation') between English-speaking South Africans, Englishmen, and Scotsmen is very likely due to its being shared by these three groups but not by the fourth group (Afrikaans-speaking South Africans).

We may now go on to consider the inter-correlations for the experimental group of *Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Wits.)* which are presented in the following table:

TABLE XXXII

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Attitude	..	0.491	0.446	0.418	0.401
2. Natives	0.491	..	0.279	0.690	0.459
3. Indians	0.446	0.279	..	0.553	0.371
4. C. Coloured	0.418	0.690	0.553	..	0.632
5. Portuguese	0.401	0.459	0.371	0.632	..

Probable error. 0.035

When applied to this table the criterion is satisfied except for one difference, namely, $13.24 \div 23.14$, which is greater than $5 \times P.E.$ Substituting, we find that the values of the correlations are: $0.446 \cdot 0.690 \cdot 0.279 \times 0.418$, so that there is evidently a non-specific or overlapping factor which is shared by social distance to natives and by social distance to Cape Coloured but not by any of the other variables. For this group, as contrasted with the group of English-speaking South Africans, there is no overlapping factor between attitude and social distance to natives. If we substitute Belgians for Portuguese in the array of variables, we find the criterion satisfied except for the same difference as in the previous array. The value of the correlation between Belgians and Portuguese is 0.699—a 'super-correlation' due to an overlapping factor.

The inter-correlations between the Afrikaans-speaking group itself and other groups are given in the following table. The criterion

is satisfied, so that we have a factor which is common to all the variables and factors specific to each variable, without any overlapping factor.

TABLE XXXIII

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Afr.-sp. S.A. . . .	..	0.631	0.584	0.568	0.378
2. Hollanders	0.631	..	0.719	0.714	0.455
3. Englishmen	0.584	0.719	..	0.614	0.402
4. Eng.-sp. S.A. . . .	0.568	0.714	0.614	..	0.367
5. Germans	0.378	0.455	0.402	0.367	..

Probable error: 0.034

If we substitute Scotsmen for English-speaking South Africans in the array the criterion is also satisfied, so that we can draw the same conclusion with regard to the existence of a common factor and, at the same time, infer the presence of an overlapping factor between English-speaking South Africans and Scotsmen ($r = 0.737$).

If we take the results of the control group of *Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Pots.)*, we find that the inter-correlations of the following sets of groups satisfy the criterion in each case:

Attitude	Attitude	Attitude	Attitude	Scotsmen
Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Portuguese	Englishmen
C. Coloured	C. Coloured	C. Coloured	C. Coloured	Eng.-sp. S.A.
Natives	Natives	Natives	Natives	Indians
Scotsmen	Englishmen	Eng.-sp. S.A.	Indians	

From the arrangement of the variables in the sets given above we may conclude that there is a factor common to attitude towards the native and social distance to Portuguese, Cape Coloured, Natives, Scotsmen, Englishmen, English-speaking South Africans, and Indians, and that there is, in addition, an overlapping factor between Scotsmen, Englishmen, English-speaking South Africans, and Indians.

If we take the inter-correlations of groups associated with the 'in-group' of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (Pots.), we get the following table of inter-correlations:

TABLE XXXIV

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Afrik.-sp. S.A. . . .	..	0.511	0.452	0.354	0.348
2. Hollanders	0.511	..	0.643	0.492	0.811
3. English-sp. S.A. . .	0.452	0.643	..	0.728	0.410
4. Englishmen	0.354	0.492	0.728	..	0.508
5. Germans	0.348	0.811	0.410	0.508	..

Probable error: 0.031

When the criterion is applied, we find that two of the tetrad differences far exceed $5 \times P.E.$ The differences in question are 23.45-34.25 and 24.35-34.25. Substituting the values of the inter-correlations, we get the following differences: $0.643 \times 0.508 - 0.728 \times 0.811$, and $0.492 \times 0.410 - 0.728 \times 0.811$. Both the values, 0.728 and 0.811, may be regarded as cases of 'super-correlation' due to two overlapping factors, namely, one between English-speaking South Africans and Englishmen, and the other between Hollanders and Germans.¹

We may now consider, finally, the experimental group of *Jews* (*Wits.*). The application of the criterion yielded the following sets of groups, whose inter-correlations satisfied the criterion in each case:

Attitude Indians	Attitude Indians	Attitude Indians	Attitude Indians	Attitude Indians
C. Coloured	C. Coloured	C. Coloured	C. Coloured	C. Coloured
Portuguese	Afrik.-sp. S.A.	Hollanders	Germans	Scotsmen

From the arrangement of the variables in the sets given above we may conclude that there is a factor common to attitude towards the native and social distance to Indians, Cape Coloured, Portuguese, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Hollanders, Germans, and Scotsmen. We may also infer the existence of an overlapping factor between Portuguese, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Hollanders, Germans, and Scotsmen. The following table gives us the inter-correlations between these five variables:

TABLE XXXV

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Portuguese	..	0.746	1.021	0.621	0.925
2. Afrik.-sp. S.A.	0.746	..	0.906	0.603	0.767
3. Hollanders	1.021	0.906	..	0.690	1.062
4. Germans	0.621	0.603	0.690	..	0.652
5. Scotsmen	0.925	0.767	1.062	0.652	..

Probable error: 0.019

The criterion is satisfied except in the case of two differences which do not exceed $5 \times P.E.$ by any very large margin, namely, 12.34-23.14 and 24.35-34.25. Substituting the values of the inter-correlations we have the following results: $0.746 \times 0.690 - 0.603$

¹ In calculating the correlations of the variables in Table XXXVI (see following section) with the general or common factor (C.F.) we are faced with the difficulty that even if we drop one member of a pair of variables between which and the other member there is an overlapping factor, we are still left with the other pair of variables and its overlapping factor. What was done was to take the four possible combinations of three variables each and to find the average value. Fortunately, this is the only case in which such an unsatisfactory procedure had to be adopted.

$\times 1.021$ and $0.603 \times 1.062 - 0.690 \times 0.767$. Since in theory no correlation can ever exceed 1.000, we may assume that the criterion is satisfied within the limits of the probable error.

When we turn to the inter-correlations between the social distance to Jews and the social distance to other groups, we find the criterion satisfied in each of the following sets of groups:

Jews	Jews	Jews
Englishmen	Englishmen	Englishmen
Eng.-sp. S.A.	Eng.-sp. S.A.	Eng.-sp. S.A.
Afrk.-sp. S.A.	Hollanders	Scotsmen

From the arrangements of the variables in the sets given above, we may conclude that there is a factor common to Jews, Englishmen, English-speaking South Africans, Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Hollanders, and Scotsmen. We may infer, also, that there is an overlapping factor in the case of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, Hollanders, and Scotsmen.¹

4. *Percentage Determination of Attitude and of Social Distance by Common Factors*

In the preceding section evidence has been brought forward to show that there exists a more or less extensive factor which is common both to attitude towards the native and to social distance to certain other groups. In the same way the existence of such a common factor of a different kind has also been demonstrated for social distance to the 'in-group' and for social distance to certain 'out-groups'. It is with these common factors that we are more particularly concerned; and in this section we propose (a) to determine the correlation of each member of a set linked together by a common factor, with that factor. Having secured these values, we can then proceed (b) to find out the percentage determination of each variable or member of a set by the factor common to all the variables of that set, and (c) the percentage determination of the variables of a set by a selected variable, in the one case by attitude towards the native, and in the other case by social distance to the 'in-group'.

For the determination of the coefficients of correlation with the common factor we may use the formula given by Spearman.² This formula can only be applied when the inter-correlational coefficients satisfy the tetrad equation or obey the tetrad criterion. There must, therefore, be at least four variables in any set before we can determine the correlation with a common factor so that, in some cases, for lack of a sufficient number of variables whose

¹ For inter-correlations between these three groups, see Table XXXV, above.

² C. Spearman, *op. cit.*, pp. xvi-xvii.

inter-correlations satisfy the criterion, we are not able from our data to calculate the correlations with the common factor for some of the variables, even though we may suspect that such a factor exists. Where there is more than one table of inter-correlations available for calculating the correlation of any particular variable with the common factor, we have taken the average of the values so obtained as the most reliable value.

If we assume that each variable is determined by the whole of the common factor which it shares with the other variables of a set, plus the residual or specific factors which are peculiar to it, then the square of the coefficient of correlation between the variable and the common factor, as determined according to the preceding formula, will give us the percentage determination of the variable by the common factor.¹

Finally, having obtained the coefficient of correlation of each variable of a set with the common factor, we are also able to arrive at the percentage determination of any one such variable by any other variable of the same set, through the common factor, according to the following formula: $\frac{r_{xa}^2}{r_{ca}^2}$, where r_{xy} is the correlation

coefficient between two variables, x and y , and r_{cx} is the coefficient between one variable, x , and the common factor, c .² In this way we are able to calculate the percentage determination, for example, of social distance to the Cape Coloured by attitude towards the native, through the factor which is common to both, or the percentage determination of social distance to Afrikaans-speaking South Africans by the social distance to English-speaking South Africans (for the English-speaking group), through the common factor, provided that the conditions mentioned above are fulfilled.

TABLE XXXVI
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

Correlation with C	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Attitude through C.F.	
Attitude	0.574	Attitude	32.9
Portuguese	0.288	Portuguese	62.1
Belgians	0.280	Belgians	60.8
C. Coloured	0.274	C. Coloured	59.9
Indians	0.240	Indians	53.8

Correlation with C.F. for Social Distance	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Social Distance (Eng.-sp. S.A.) through C.F.	
Eng.-sp. S.A.	0.874	Eng.-sp. S.A.	76.4
Englishmen	0.748	Englishmen	55.5
Scotsmen	0.621	Scotsmen	38.6
Afrikaners	0.530	Afrikaners	28.1
		Englishmen	61.1
		Scotsmen	29.8
		Afrikaners	31.3

¹ R. C. Tryon, 'The Interpretation of the Correlation Coefficient', *Psychological Review*, vol. XXXI, no. 5, 1920.

² R. C. Tryon, *ibid*.

The coefficients of correlation and the percentage determinations, which must be regarded only as approximations, are summarized for each of the experimental and control groups in Tables XXXVI to XL.

TABLE XXXVII
Eng.-sp. S.A. (Rds.)

Correlation with C.F.	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Attitude through C.F.
Attitude 0.664	Attitude 44.1	Indians 53.5
Indians 0.889	Indians 79.0	Jews 67.8
Jews 0.793	Jews 62.0	C. Coloured 48.8
C. Coloured 0.758	C. Coloured 57.4	Germans 39.3
Germans 0.749	Germans 54.8	Belgians 35.4
Belgians 0.715	Belgians 54.0	Hollanders 39.8
Hollanders 0.647	Hollanders 41.0	Afr.-sp. S.A. 35.6
Afr.-sp. S.A. 0.537	Afr.-sp. S.A. 24.8	

TABLE XXXVIII
Afr.-sp. S.A. (Wits.)

Correlation with C.F.	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Attitude through C.F.
Attitude 0.775	Attitude 54.5	C. Coloured 32.4
C. Coloured 0.807	C. Coloured 61.1	Portuguese 29.6
Portuguese 0.771	Portuguese 42.4	Natives 44.6
Natives 0.674	Natives 37.9	Indians 36.8
Indians 0.562	Indians 31.6	Belgians 25.9
Belgians 0.517	Belgians 25.5	
Correlation with C.F. for Social Distance	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Social Distance (Afr.-sp. S.A.) through C.F.
Afr.-sp. S.A. 0.765	Afr.-sp. S.A. 49.7	Hollanders 80.1
Hollanders 0.816	Hollanders 66.6	Englishmen 68.6
Englishmen 0.820	Englishmen 67.7	Eng.-sp. S.A. 64.7
Eng.-sp. S.A. 0.772	Eng.-sp. S.A. 59.6	Scotsmen 32.5
Scotsmen 0.662	Scotsmen 42.4	Germans 28.7
Germans 0.517	Germans 34.9	

TABLE XXXIX
Afr.-sp. S.A. (Pots.)

Correlation with C.F.	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Attitude through C.F.
Attitude 0.553	Attitude 30.6	C. Coloured 51.8
C. Coloured 0.724	C. Coloured 52.4	Portuguese 71.9
Portuguese 0.705	Portuguese 49.7	Natives 43.1
Natives 0.635	Natives 40.3	Scotsmen 26.2
Scotsmen 0.596	Scotsmen 25.6	Eng.-sp. S.A. 20.6
Eng.-sp. S.A. 0.463	Eng.-sp. S.A. 21.1	Englishmen 24.6
Englishmen 0.422	Englishmen 17.8	Indians 19.3
Indians 0.278	Indians 7.7	
Correlation with C.F. for Social Distance	Percentage Determination by C.F.	Percentage Determination by Social Distance (Afr.-sp. S.A.) through C.F.
Afr.-sp. S.A. 0.537	Afr.-sp. S.A. 26.7	Hollanders 97.8
Hollanders 0.908	Hollanders 82.4	Eng.-sp. S.A. 76.5
Eng.-sp. S.A. 0.794	Eng.-sp. S.A. 63.0	Englishmen 41.8
Englishmen 0.706	Englishmen 49.8	Germans 45.4
Germans 0.693	Germans 48.0	

EXPERIMENTAL

TABLE XI.
Jews (Wits.)

<i>Correlation with C.F.</i>		<i>Percentage Determination by C.F.</i>		<i>Percentage Determination by Attitude through C.F.</i>	
Attitude	0.564	Attitude	31.8	C. Coloured	88.6
C. Coloured	0.956	C. Coloured	91.4	Indians	94.1
Indians	0.873	Indians	76.2	Portuguese	42.6
Portuguese	0.715	Portuguese	51.2	Hollanders	29.6
Hollanders	0.603	Hollanders	36.4	Afrik-sp S.A.	29.8
Afrik-sp S.A.	0.564	Afrik-sp S.A.	31.8	Germans	21.7
Germans	0.510	Germans	26.0	Scotsmen	20.7
Scotsmen	0.485	Scotsmen	23.5		
<i>Correlation with C.F. for Social Distance</i>		<i>Percentage Determination by C.F.</i>		<i>Percentage Determination by Social Distance (Jews) through C.F.</i>	
Jews	0.778	Jews	60.5	Englishmen	90.9
Englishmen	0.957	Englishmen	91.6	Eng-sp S.A.	74.8
Eng-sp S.A.	0.812	Eng-sp S.A.	69.2	Afrik-sp S.A.	60.9
Afrik-sp S.A.	0.711	Afrik-sp S.A.	55.2	Hollanders	34.6
Hollanders	0.617	Hollanders	38.1	Scotsmen	10.7
Scotsmen	0.568	Scotsmen	32.3		

5. *Final Interpretation of Results*

The most important single conclusion that emerges from the statistical analysis of the results is the existence of factors which are common to a number of groups or variables. Of these common factors the two most important are (a) the factor which is common to attitude towards the native and social distance to correlated groups, and (b) the factor which is common to social distance to the in-group and social distance to correlated groups. Almost all the variables share in one or the other of these two factors for all the groups, experimental and control, the most notable exception being that of social distance to the Jews which only shares once in a common factor together with attitude towards the native in the case of the English-speaking group (Rds.) and once in a common factor in the case of the Jewish group (Wits.) itself. The social distance to the Jews is the nearest approach to an entirely specific social attitude on the part of the non-Jewish groups which has appeared in the course of the investigation, and it is of some interest to observe that it should appear in just those three of the four non-Jewish groups that have the greatest intolerance for Jews.

Although a statistical analysis can throw no light on the qualitative nature of the common factors which it brings to light, we are entitled to assume that these factors, however complex they may turn out to be, are qualitatively equivalent to the attitudes which an individual displays, either towards the group with which he most readily identifies himself, that is, the in-group, or towards the group with which he finds he has little or nothing in common, that is, the extreme out-group. Since these two attitudes are mutually exclusive, it would seem natural to conclude that the factors which

determine them are also mutually exclusive. This conclusion is confirmed by the statistical results for nearly all the variables, but there are a few cases, as shown by the results of the Afrikaans-speaking group (Pots.) (Table XXXIX) and the Jewish group (Wits.) (Table XL), in which both the common factors play a part in determining social distance to the same variables. Such cases, which are rather exceptional, may be regarded from a qualitative point of view as instances of a strongly marked ambivalent attitude. The apparently anomalous position occupied by these variables or groups shows that while the distinction between the in- and the out-groups may be quite real, it is a dividing line which may sometimes cut across a group. Thus while groups, as a rule, tend to fall on one side of the line or on the other, so that the common in-group factor or the common out-group factor is present in the one case but not in the other, there are cases in which both factors may be present at the same time.

It is of some interest to observe that the common factor which is shared by the in-group proper and by correlated groups—what we have called the common in-group factor—may play a greater part in determining the social distance to some of these correlated groups than it does in determining the social distance to the in-group itself. The same applies to the common out-group factor which is shared by attitude towards the native and by correlated out-groups. The existence of these two factors shows how very real the distinction between in- and out-group actually is—a distinction which in many cases is more important than any specific factors in determining the social attitude of members of one group to members of other groups.

Where we find the presence of overlapping factors, that is, of factors which are shared by two or more, but not by all the variables which share the same common factor, we may expect the distinction between such variables to be small. If we take, as an example, the variables given in Table XXXV, we find that in some cases the distinction vanishes altogether as shown by the very high correlations amounting to unity or near unity.

A priori consideration may have led to the anticipation that the distinction between the two common factors would be associated with the differences in skin-colour between the variables. The results partially confirm this view, since in no case do we find any of the dark-skinned or coloured variables sharing the same factor in common with the in-group variable. On the other hand, there are several cases in which the factor common to the dark-skinned variables is also shared by one or more of the white or light-skinned variables. Thus, while a dark skin-colour is definitely a

disqualification for admission to the in-group, a white or light skin-colour does not by itself lead to unqualified admission.

When we turn to the part played by the variation of such factors as sex, environment, and group membership in the determination of individual differences, we find that the most important single factor is that of group membership. Variation in sex is a relatively minor factor, since it only affects individual differences in 5 out of a total of 115 cases. Variation in environment plays a small part in the case of the two English-speaking groups, but is very much more important in the case of the two Afrikaans-speaking groups. Owing to the absence of a control group it is impossible to say what its importance would be in the case of the Jewish group, though it is extremely unlikely to be as great as in the case of the Afrikaans-speaking experimental group. In addition to the three factors that have been considered, the part played by the unreliability of the measuring instrument itself in determining individual differences must not be overlooked. The per cent. of variance due to this factor can readily be determined from the coefficients of reliability, since in each case it is simply unity less the reliability coefficient.¹

¹ R. C. Tryon, 'The Reliability Coefficient as a Percent, with Application to Correlation between Abilities', *Psychological Review*, vol. xxxvii. no. 2, 1930.

PART III PSYCHOLOGICAL

XIII

GROUP PSYCHOLOGY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

1. *Utilitarian and Instinct Theories of Group Psychology*

THE fact that wherever we turn we find the individual living as a member of a group has come to be regarded so much as a matter of course that there exists a tendency to overlook certain rather obvious problems which are implied by that fact. Thus, although the nature of group influence upon the development of the individual, the theory or hypothesis of a group mind, the significance of group customs and *mores*, of associations and institutions which constitute the social heritage and the group culture, the forms in which group control is exercised and the nature and seat of group authority, as well as a host of similar and related problems, have all been raised and answered in a great variety of different ways by educationists, social psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, political philosophers, and others, the logically prior problem of how the nature of the individual himself in his role as a member of a group must be conceived has not received that degree of attention which it deserves. Is man by nature a social being so that we may say, with Aristotle, that he is born a social animal? Or is he non-social by original nature, if not actually anti-social, as Hobbes would have us believe? In the latter case, does his original nature undergo any change and, if so, what are the changes and how are they brought about? What do we mean in this context by the term 'social', and what constitutes social behaviour? What is the attitude of the individual towards other members of his own group, and what gratification is provided by participation in group activity? What is the attitude of the individual towards those who are members of other groups, and what is its relation to his attitude to members of his own group? If these and similar questions can be satisfactorily answered, we may then be in a position to solve, among other problems, what Woodworth has called the puzzle of man in society, of the individual as a member of a group. 'In society, the individual submits to some limitation of his self-seeking tendencies, and the puzzle has been to find the motive that leads to this submissiveness.'¹

¹ R. S. Woodworth, *Dynam. Psychology*, p. 179.

Woodworth's formulation follows the traditional approach to the problem, and a brief reference to the treatment which the problem, so formulated, received at the hands of certain early writers will pave the way for our own treatment. Thus Hobbes believed that man 'in a state of nature', that is by original nature, was anti-social, but that the pressure of external conflict, *bellum omnium contra omnes*, forced him to form a society, and, as an essential condition of maintaining that society, to surrender all his power to the sovereign. 'The nature' of man as a member of such a society or organized group undergoes no change, but it is rendered harmless to others by the fact that the individual is helpless, since the sovereign alone has the right to exercise power. 'The individual is indifferent to the group, as such, of which he is a member, since it represents merely a device which makes life more tolerable, the life of the individual in a state of nature being 'short, nasty, and brutish'. 'The main lines of Hobbes's treatment of the problem were followed by subsequent writers like Locke and Bentham, who, though they may have laid less emphasis than did Hobbes upon the anti-social tendencies in man, were all agreed that society, as such, did not constitute a positive attraction for the individual. Man was not social by nature and, though he might only be found living as a member of some society or other, it was only because he found it expedient or useful, or in his own interests to do so. At most, society had a utilitarian appeal, since a little reflection would soon convince the individual that the advantages which he enjoyed as a member of a society far outweighed the limitations which it enforced upon his self-seeking tendencies.

The historical significance of the instinct school of social psychology, as represented more particularly by McDougall, was that it destroyed once and for all this intellectualistic conception of man in his role as a member of a social group. Reason, or intellect, alone could not explain his behaviour as a social individual, for, in the last resort, the instincts were, and remained, the driving force to every form of behaviour, including social behaviour. If the instinct of pugnacity, for example, explained the fighting behaviour of man and of animals, if the instinct of flight explained their fear behaviour, then likewise the social behaviour of man and of the lower animals could be accounted for in the same way by the existence of some specific social, herd, or gregarious instinct. Man was by nature a social or gregarious animal and, in the last resort, association with his own kind in some form of society or group was the expression of that nature. The basis of society was a non-rational instinct which, if it did no more, at any rate prevented the individual members from dispersing when they found the

limitations imposed upon their self-seeking tendencies proving too irksome.

The postulation of an *ad hoc* social or gregarious instinct to account for the fact that everywhere man is found living as a member of a group is a simple and tempting way of disposing of the problem, but it suffers from the fatal defect of most forms of instinct psychology in that it converts a description into an explanation. No one has described more eloquently than McDougall or Trotter the facts of gregarious or social behaviour in man and in the lower animals, but to take for granted, without the most searching and critical investigation into the nature, origin, and development of these forms of behaviour, that they are always and everywhere due to the operation of a specific instinct, leads us straight into the arms of a rejuvenated form of the old faculty psychology. And even the description of the facts of social behaviour upon which the theory of a gregarious instinct is based is misleading when those facts are seen in the light of the instinct from which they, in their turn, are derived. Thus the responses which are made to the mere presence or absence of others of a like kind are regarded as the starting-point of social behaviour, and in its subsequent development it never really rises above the level of its starting-point, but remains an interplay of responses which takes place in an external way. Again, the complex social behaviour of the adult, with its long and complicated history of past learning and conditioning, is over-simplified by being reduced to the activity of elemental forces which are alleged to be present at birth, and to find expression in the 'instinctive' behaviour of the very young child or animal, while the social behaviour of the young child is distorted by the psychologist's fallacy of regarding it as merely an earlier, and therefore less sophisticated, form of the same behaviour which is displayed by the adult. Finally, the theory itself leads to further assumptions which only serve to expose its inherent weaknesses. Since every instinct, according to McDougall, is a complex psycho-physical disposition which leads the individual prior to, or independently of, experience, to pay special attention to certain specific stimuli in the environment as well as to experience a specific kind of emotion and to act, or at any rate to feel an impulse to act, in a specific way, the individual, by virtue of the possession of a gregarious instinct, is also equipped with a special *ad hoc* capacity to which the name of 'primitive passive sympathy' is given, and which may be described as a peculiar sensitivity to, or readiness to be affected by, the presence and behaviour, and more particularly the emotional behaviour, of one's own kind. This peculiar sensitivity to a special kind, or type, of

situation is said to lead in a predetermined way to the eduction, in the individual so affected, of forms of behaviour, particularly emotional behaviour, similar to those which constitute the situation, as a result of the arousal of the correlated instincts. McDougall would go even so far as to postulate the existence of a specific perceptual inlet which at a primitive level serves to endow relevant stimuli with a ready-made avenue of discharge into the nervous system. Distinguished from, though closely allied with, the gregarious instinct are the very general innate tendencies of sympathy, suggestibility, and imitation, which come into play in the situation created by the operation of the gregarious instinct and provide for that quasi-mechanical induction of emotion, of opinion and belief, and of external behaviour which occurs in every individual in the presence of others of his own kind.

The whole of this approach to our problem in terms of instinct, as represented by McDougall's theory, must definitely be rejected on the grounds that it is unscientific, if not mystical, in character. We have not advanced a step farther in any real comprehension of the phenomena under consideration when we have coined a name and endowed it with all sorts of magical properties. McDougall's procedure is that of taking a short cut which in this case has led into a wrong path that merely ends in a blind alley. The instinct theory is an over-hasty and premature attempt, based upon an inadequate equipment of knowledge of relevant facts and an inadequate appreciation of the complexity of the problem, to arrive at a solution. It puts the cart before the horse, since human nature is not a fact which is given once and for all at birth and from which the complexities of social behaviour are derived like rabbits out of a top hat, but an artifact which has been brought into existence after birth as the result of interaction with a very special kind of environment, and fashioned into shape as the result of complex, often obscure, mental processes. The rising tide which appears to have submerged, once and for all, the kind of instinct theory which we have in mind has been fed by two main streams, namely, the experimental psychology of learning and the psychology of the Unconscious. The developments due to both of these have opened up new methods of approach to the problem of social behaviour, and have led to discoveries which have enlarged our insight into the nature of man as a member of a group, in a way that was quite beyond the scope of a 'finished' psychology like that of instinct theory. It is in the light of the discoveries more particularly associated with the psychology of the Unconscious that we propose to continue the discussion of our problem, without, however, ignoring the facts revealed by the experimental psychology of learning.

2. *Freudian Group Psychology*

One of the most fundamental concepts of psycho-analytic theory is the concept of mental conflict, with its attendant emotional state of anxiety. Sooner or later, and usually at an early age, the child finds itself the victim of a mental conflict, with its highly unpleasant or painful concomitants, from which some way of escape must be found. The conflict cannot be avoided, since it arises directly from the fact that every child is born into a family, and it forms an inevitable stage in the psychic development of every individual. It is in the child's interactions with, and reactions to, the family situation constituted by the presence of its other members that we find the source of those impulses and attitudes which may be described as truly social. It is within the family circle that the conditions are found which are essential for social development, and it is the vicissitudes of the individual's original impulses as controlled by these conditions that enable him to participate as a social being in the wider social life of his group. It becomes unnecessary, therefore, to postulate the existence of any special and original group of social or gregarious tendencies to account for the individual's behaviour as a member of a group. Man is not social by nature, but only becomes socialized, or partially socialized, as the result of a long and painful process which leads to a more or less complete transformation of his original nature.

In the beginning the child follows the path of least resistance. As his impulses arise so they are relieved by the most immediate and direct forms of gratification. The child cannot tolerate frustration, or even delay, and when reality fails he finds gratification in imagination, since, at this stage, the distinction between the two which every more mature individual has had to learn to make does not yet exist for the child. At this stage the direct or primitive function of imagination in providing gratification, which the healthy adult employs only occasionally and with full consciousness of its inadequacy, as in the day-dream, is enjoyed regularly and to its fullest extent by the very young child. 'Thought (or imagination) is omnipotent, and the wish, being father to the thought, readily brings about the means to its own gratification. Any genuine mental conflict is at this auto-erotic stage out of the question, and the operation of the pleasure principle, that is, the immediate discharge of physiological tensions or the removal of stimuli due to physiological changes by the activity and stimulation of the appropriate bodily organs and zones, is quite unchecked. The impulses that find gratification in this way are predominantly libidinal, since it is only through the stimulation of certain erogenous

zones, and most particularly of the oral and anal zones of the body, which provide highly pleasurable and definitely sensual sensations whose quality is also found present in the genital or specifically sexual sensations of a later stage, that gratification can be obtained.

At a later stage, when the child has learned to distinguish between his own body and other objects, we find the pleasure-seeking or libidinal impulses becoming less diffused and more organized around objects, including the child's own body, which serve as a means of gratification. What is a source of gratification is retained and incorporated; and what is a source of pain is rejected or destroyed. Frustration of libidinal and other impulses gives rise to aggressive and hostile impulses, and the child's behaviour at this narcissistic stage is not merely not social but definitely anti-social in character. The immediate effect, therefore, of the development of a sense of reality in the form of Ego-awareness and of social contact with other selves, only serves to enhance the primitive aggressive impulses of the child, and to direct them outwards on to other selves. Since the development of a sense of reality makes the imaginative gratification a less satisfactory substitute, the occasions for the arousal of aggressiveness as the result of privation become more frequent. Before the allo-erotic stage is reached, at which the most painful and prolonged mental conflicts are engendered, it appears to be possible to distinguish an intermediate stage in which gratification is obtainable, not by the introjection or incorporation of the not-self into the self, but by the self identifying itself with, or becoming, the not-self. It is as if the growing sense of reality made the short and easy way of evading privation and obtaining gratification more difficult and less convincing, while, on the other hand, by the device of identification the organism were enabled to postpone the final admission of the independent existence of objects (including other selves) and of reality.

When the individual has reached the allo-erotic stage of development, without, however, having completely abandoned earlier and more primitive modes of gratification which still remain invested with a certain amount of libidinal interest and which, therefore, continue to find expression in his behaviour often in the most curious, unexpected, and devious ways, he finds himself involved in the most intense mental conflict as the result of the situation by which he is confronted. This situation is the Oedipus situation, a typical triangular situation constituted by the presence of mother, father, and child who, as members of the same family, are brought into the closest and most direct face-to-face contacts possible with one another. The bonds that unite mother and child are from birth on of the most intimate nature, and it is through the mother as

object that the child finds the most obvious means of securing libidinal gratification in the external world long before it has even learned to distinguish between its own body and other objects. This libidinal tie between mother and child persists throughout all the various stages of development, whether of aim or of mode of gratification or of organization of impulse, so that the child's first love-object at the allo-erotic stage is necessarily its own mother. The development of this incestuous relationship is so inevitable that, not its presence, but its absence would appear to stand most in need of explanation.

The strength of the incestuous tie, which finds expression in the wish for the exclusive possession of the mother as love object, brings the child into conflict with its social environment as represented, more particularly, by its father. In any family situation, the attempt by any member to monopolize any other member must lead to conflict with the remaining member or members. In its first conflict of this kind, the child reacts to the situation with an excessive hostility directed against the father. As the hated rival, the father becomes the object of a 'death' wish; and the greater the love for the mother the greater is the hatred felt for the father. This state of affairs might continue indefinitely without leading to any change in the impulses involved, were it not brought to an end by the development of a castration complex which gives rise within the child itself to a genuine mental conflict with its concomitants of mental pain and anxiety. Thus the Oedipus complex, which is fundamentally anti-social in its implications, by preparing the way for the castration complex, destroys itself.

The genesis of the castration complex lies in the discovery which must, sooner or later, be made by every child at the genital phase of libidinal organization, that its genital organ is a possession of which it may be deprived. The significance of the visible anatomical difference between the two sexes is completely misinterpreted by the child, since, as the result of its preoccupation with sexual interests, it concludes that all have, or have had, the same phallus, but that some have been castrated or forcibly deprived of it. For the child at this early genital or phallic phase there are not two sexes in the conventional sense, but only a single sex some of whom have, and some of whom have not, a sexual organ. And what has happened to others may also happen to it. The fear of possible castration becomes a real dread of actual castration at the hands of the father in the Oedipus situation. This hostility on the part of the father, and the form which it takes, is very largely the result of the child's own activity of projection and the creation of its own fantasy, but is none the less real for that fact.

Thus the child becomes involved in the meshes of a conflict which is the immediate expression of the interaction between its own original nature and the particular situation in which it finds itself. On the one hand, it loves the mother and hates the father (though both love and hate are qualified by an underlying ambivalence); on the other hand, it dreads castration at the hands of a hostile rival. The conflict grows by what it feeds on, for the greater the love or libidinal striving for the possession of the love object the more intense the hate, and hence the more imminent the threat of castration. From this impasse the child can only escape by abandoning the original aim of its striving for gratification. The incestuous love must be repressed and replaced by its aim-inhibited or sublimated substitute in the form of tender feeling for the mother. Though the warmth and intimacy which are characteristic of the earlier form may survive, the sexual element which lies at its root must, once and for all, be repressed. Only at the cost of sacrificing the overt libidinal features of its love for the mother can the child escape from the intolerable tension of its mental conflict. When that sacrifice has been made, the path of reconciliation with the father is opened up, since the cause of the hostility has disappeared and with it the fear of castration. The parental authority with its emphasis upon prohibition is accepted, and through identification with the father becomes part of the child's own mental structure in the form of the Super-Ego. The child's behaviour has become moralized, that is, socialized, to the extent that the free gratification of original impulse that would make social life impossible is henceforth prohibited and thwarted from within the child itself by the very same agency which hitherto, as an embodied father-figure, had evoked the most extreme hostile impulses on the part of the child. The functions of the Super-Ego, or primitive conscience, are primarily prohibitory and punitive, and in that form they represent the first and most fundamental relation of society to its individual members. The freedom which the individual enjoys in a 'state of nature', that is, according to the dictates of his original nature, must be sacrificed as a first step in the process of becoming social.

The conflict arising out of the Oedipus situation is reduplicated in the relation of the child to other children who are, as a rule, and in the typical case, its own brothers and sisters, members of the same family circle. The natural reaction of the child to other children is again one of hostility, since the mere presence of others necessarily diverts from the child some of the parents' interest and affection to which it lays an exclusive claim. For the child to be obliged to share a highly prized possession with some one else

excites resentment and jealousy and leads to conflict, increased tension, and anxiety which finds expression in aggressiveness. The only way of escape from the vicious circle is by a radical change in attitude such as we find taking place in the Oedipus situation. The hostility arising out of rivalry is replaced by friendliness as a reaction formation, and a positive identification on the basis of a common love of the parents and of what they share in common on that basis binds the child to its fellows. The purely egoistic attitude which is so very characteristic of the young child becomes qualified by a genuine social impulse in which the child obtains gratification with, and through, others by means of identification. As social, the impulse or attitude must be distinguished from altruism, with which it is often confused, since although reaction formation may play a part in the development of both, the latter lacks the element of identification which is such a prominent feature of the genuine social impulse.

In the light of the foregoing discussion, the conflicting views with regard to the origin, nature, and development of social impulses and attitudes in man can now be defined more clearly, since the points at issue are more sharply opposed. The belief that these impulses and attitudes develop as naturally as do the flowers that bloom in the spring is an illusion based upon a 'will to believe'. A social philosopher like Hobbes is probably much nearer the truth than his critics realize when he declares that man is by nature non-social (or anti-social), even though he may be found everywhere living as a member of a group. If we bear in mind that the individual is born into a group, namely, the family (which Hobbes entirely ignores), and if we substitute for Hobbes's conception of a conflict between individuals the more psychological conception of an emotionally charged, mental conflict within the individual himself, we may be more prepared to agree with Hobbes that man is forced to become social, not so much, however, because of external or environmental circumstances, but rather as the result of internal or psychological circumstances, and as a means of bringing an intolerable state of conflict to an end.

According to utilitarian theory, then, man is social because it is to his advantage to submit to the restrictions of society and of his group, even though he may find them irksome at times. The group has no intrinsic attraction for the individual, and his relations with his fellow members are of an external kind, since all are egoists or altruists (altruism being an inverted form of egoism). His original nature remains fundamentally unchanged in spite of its accretion of social habits which control his behaviour and keep it in the straight and narrow path approved of by society.

According to instinct theory, which is merely a reversal of the previous view, man is by nature social (gregarious) and the group is based upon an original, non-rational impulse which finds expression in the social behaviour of its members. The centripetal and centrifugal forces of man's nature are more or less in a state of equilibrium, since after a time the situation created by the absence of the group arouses the appropriate instinct which forces him back into it. Although in this view the group may be said to have an intrinsic interest for the individual, since he is so constituted by original nature that he must pay attention to it, his relations with his fellows are still of an external kind, for the behaviour of each in every kind of social contact continues to be determined, directly or indirectly, by one or more of a number of specific instincts.

According to psycho-analytic theory, man is not social by nature, since his fundamental 'instincts', more particularly those of sex and aggression, are entirely egoistic. But as the result of his peculiar environment, which cannot be avoided since it is based upon a biological necessity, every individual becomes socialized to some degree as the result of the change that takes place in his original impulses. The processes of repression, sublimation, and reaction formation make this possible, and what we call 'human', or acquired, nature, as contrasted with 'animal' or original nature, is the result. Human, or social, or moral behaviour, as such represents an achievement on the part of the individual which is due to a very special kind of interaction between the organism and its environment, and which is sustained by primitive, non-rational, mental processes of whose existence the individual is completely unconscious. To say that 'man is a social animal' is, from this point of view, not merely a *petitio principii* but a contradiction in terms, since it joins together what in the light of psycho-analytic theory are seen to be opposed to one another and the real source of man's inner conflicts. It is the uniqueness of this conflict that distinguishes man from the animals, just as his social nature and behaviour which issue from it are peculiar to him.

The 'dynamics and mechanics', as we might call them, of the Oedipus and castration complexes are directly responsible for these momentous changes in the individual's original nature and behaviour which take place while he is still a member of the family group. The basic patterns of the social impulses and attitudes acquired in this early social environment can be detected in the subsequent behaviour of the individual as a member of other and less intimate groups, which are the family 'writ large' in one form

or another. Thus the social group in which the individual feels 'at home', and to which he and others belong together 'as members of one big family', is the group that will bring his social impulses into play most fully. It is in this group that we are interested, more particularly in this discussion of group psychology, for it is here, if anywhere, that those factors are likely to be found which not only play a part in determining the attitude of the individual towards members of his own group but also his attitude towards members of other groups. And it is the relation between these two attitudes which constitutes our main problem.

The two kinds of attitudes, we may anticipate, are closely bound up with one another, so that in trying to account for the one we are preparing the way for the treatment of the other. If it can be shown that they both arise out of the same original situation, then we may conclude that they cannot exist apart from one another. The behaviour in which the correlated attitudes find expression may change or vary from individual to individual, as the result of learning and individual differences in past experience, but the underlying attitudes, since they constitute the individual's very nature *qua* social, cannot now be revised in any radical sense. If the psycho-analytical account of their origin and nature in any way approximates to the truth, then they are beyond the reach of modification by any kind of learning, since they are rooted in the individual's Unconscious, which is out of touch with reality. A psychology of learning may do much to show how an individual's social behaviour may be affected by his social environment, but the drive itself to social behaviour, without which no learning can take place, falls outside the scope of the learning process. If the social impulses and attitudes were the results of learning in the usual sense of that term, then they could presumably be unlearned or relearned. But if they arise from the conversion of some primitive impulse, then what is done cannot be undone; and learning itself, especially in the group situation as represented by imitation, sympathy, and suggestibility, presupposes them. A psychology of learning in the form of learning by conditioning may show how the individual comes to distinguish between members of his own group and of other groups, or how he is conditioned to, and by, their behaviour. But the process of learning (by itself alone) cannot account for the warmth and intimacy of social contacts within the group, that feeling-at-one-with, and attachment to the group, so that in a very real, though obscure, sense which we may describe as identification with one another, the distinction which ordinarily keeps individuals apart no longer exists between them as members of the same group.

3. *The Problem of Identification*

The psychological process, device, or mechanism which we call 'identification' appears at a relatively late stage in the mental development of the individual. At the earliest, or auto-erotic, stage, when the distinction between a self and a not-self has not yet arisen, identification is not possible since there is no not-self with which a self can be identified. At a later, or narcissistic, stage, when the child has come to distinguish between the two, but without accepting the full reality of the not-self which, in accordance with the pleasure principle, it either ignores or incorporates in cannibalistic fashion, identification is not necessary since the object offers no resistance to such summary treatment. At a still later stage, when the demands of reality can no longer wholly be ignored, and the object is recognized as having an independent existence in its own right, the individual may become attached to the object without in any way wishing to interfere with that existence in pursuit of his own gratification. It is only when reality has been fully accepted that we can have a genuine object love, which must be distinguished from a spurious or partial object-love which does not really admit the claim to complete independence on the part of the love-object.

The gulf, however, which separates the narcissistic stage, or stage of self-love, from the stage of object-love is too great to be taken at a single leap. Some sort of intermediate stage which would provide a bridge in order to make the passage from the one to the other a less difficult process becomes necessary, and it is here that identification plays its role in the development of the individual. Identification, in that case, would serve as the characteristic mode of gratification for the individual who has only partially abandoned narcissism without having successfully achieved object-love. While the individual is being forced out of narcissism by the reality principle without being forced into object-love, he may resort to identification as a mode of gratification in accordance with the pleasure principle. Looked at from this point of view, identification would represent a compromise between the pleasure and reality principles.

Identification can only take place after the self and not-self have been differentiated and the distinction between the two has not merely been thought or cognized, but felt and recognized as real. Since at the stage of object-love this distinction also exists, there must be some difference in the relation or attitude of the individual towards the object in the two cases. This difference has been expressed by saying that, while in the one case (object-love) the

subject wishes 'to have' the object, in the other case (identification) the subject wishes 'to be' or 'to be like' the object. The real crux of our problem lies in giving some intelligible meaning to the phrase 'to be the object', since for the time being we may assume that 'to be like the object' represents a later development out of a more primitive state of 'being the object'. The state of being, or the process of becoming, some one, or something, other than one's self is certainly not easy to understand, but it is none the less real as any number of instances both in normal, as well as in abnormal, behaviour testify. Principles of 'sympathy' and of 'empathy' have been invoked by psychologists, but their only value lies in drawing attention to the fact that we are dealing with phenomena of emotion and feeling with which reality, as understood in the conventional or physical sense, has nothing to do.

A more promising line of explanation would be to try to account for identification as the result of learning, and to say that identification is due to, or based upon, a process of conditioning. In that case, what we mean by saying that one person identifies himself with another is, that he is so conditioned as the result of past experience that whatever affects that other person also affects him. Through past experience he has learned that certain kinds of response to certain kinds of social stimuli, more particularly those provided by the behaviour of others, will give rise to satisfying consequences, and so, through a process of displacement or substitution (conditioning), the original gratification comes to be excited by a part of the original situation or by something associated with it. Identification, in that case, turns out to be a well-established social habit which finds expression in the form of imitation, sympathy, or suggestibility. As a conditioned response, this susceptibility to the acts, feelings, and thought of others, and especially of members of one's own group, is identification. The implications of this explanation, however, are not acceptable, since, if identification were nothing but the result of a process of conditioning, it would cease to be identification in the sense in which we are using that term. Quite apart from the very wide and general use of the concept of conditioning, which threatens to become a blanket term having little or no explanatory value since it may be used to cover so very many different kinds of psychological process, there is the further objection that identification in a narrow sense is restricted to a very definite stage in mental development at the human level. It can only take place when genuine social contact has been established, where alone we find that interaction of selves which implies self-consciousness or the awareness of self and of other selves in relation to one another. It is only when the

distinction between one's own self and some other self (my awareness of myself and my awareness of your self) has arisen that the process of identification can take place which leads to the disappearance of that distinction. A process of conditioning may be able to account for the individual becoming one among others of a group, becoming like them in the sense of similarity, but it fails to explain how the individual becomes one with others of a group in the sense of a felt identity. For that reason a behaviourist psychology which confines itself to the simple categories of substitute response to substitute stimulus, as illustrated in the original process of conditioning, will always fall short of a genuine social or group psychology.

If we bear in mind that identification is a device for obtaining the gratification of some impulse, or wish, which can no longer be gratified in the easy narcissistic way by ignoring the demands of reality and substituting the self for the non-self, while, on the other hand, it cannot as yet be gratified by conforming completely to the felt demands of reality as in object-love, where the object is recognized as having the same claims to reality as the self, then the only way out of the dilemma is to substitute the object for the self. The very urgency of the wish forces the self to make use of a device which is of an illusory nature in order to provide it with gratification, since the primary function of the self is to provide the means for the gratification of wishes. From the point of view of the 'wish', it is immaterial whether gratification is obtained through a change in reality or a change in the self, provided that gratification is obtained and tension relieved. In identification neither the self nor the object is changed, but the former is displaced by the latter—the object comes to play the role of the self.

In this process three steps or moments may be distinguished which succeed one another in the following order:

- (a) the thwarted self, or self in a state of tension,
- (b) is displaced by the self gratified through the direct function of the imagination (as in the day dream) which in its turn
- (c) is displaced by the external self or object, thus completing the process of identification.

The second step is merely a transitional step, which is a survival of an earlier and more primitive, though by no means completely abandoned, mode of gratification to which the individual may regress just as he regresses from object-love to identification. The substitution of the external object for the actual (thwarted) self by way of the ideal (gratified) self makes the process of identification less of a mystery. It may, in fact, be regarded as merely an extension of the range of the imaginative function in its primitive,

and therefore most potent and persistent, form. In any case, the dividing line between the self and the not-self is very elastic, since at birth it does not exist at all, nor does it coincide either at different stages of mental development or at different levels of the mind. The distinction has had to be learned through the painful experiences of privation and thwarting, and its existence, even at the higher mental levels of self-consciousness and conscious control, is of a very precarious nature when some strong wish or striving towards gratification comes into play. The boundaries of the conscious self tend to expand and contract according to the state of the organism and the situation by which it is faced. It seems that the process of identification represents a less complete distinction between reality and imagination, between the self and the not-self, between the pleasure and the reality principles, than is the case of the ordinary conscious or workaday level of experience. It may hardly appear necessary to add that it is an unconscious process which cannot be directed or controlled in any self-conscious or deliberate way.

Out of all the complicated interplay of repression, aim-inhibition or sublimation, and reaction formation, which represent, respectively, an escape from, a displacement and refinement of, and a defence against, the original libidinal and aggressive impulses, we find emerging certain basic patterns of identification which are fundamental for the subsequent development of the individual's social impulses and attitudes. These other mechanisms clear the way for those primary identifications on the part of the young child to which we have already referred, namely, the identification with the father or parental authority which gives rise to the Super-Ego and moral behaviour and the sense of socially approved behaviour, and identification with those who occupy a similar position as itself in the family circle in relation to the parents, which gives rise to genuine social behaviour and attitudes. Through identification the child has become in a psychological sense a part of the family, a member of a group to whose approval and disapproval it is highly sensitive, since these carry with them the opportunity for sharing and obtaining gratification in common, or the threat of withdrawal and loss of love. The attachments which bind the individuals together in fellow-feeling as members of the same family are libidinal in origin, so that they continue to find their fullest expression in the warmth and intimacy (including touch and physical contact, as between friends) of the group in which the individual feels most at home. As compared with homosexual and heterosexual impulses with which they share a common origin, the social or 'homosocial' impulses lack the erotic element

which must remain repressed if they are not to disappear, they are more diffuse and permanent in their aim-inhibited form, and their mode of gratification is through identification and not through object-love.¹

4. *The Psychology of Group Prejudice*

According to the foregoing account, the social impulse is not only derived from exceedingly complex, deep-seated, and obscure origins in the mind of the individual, but it is also a pattern made up of many different elements and finding expression in many different ways. It finds, as we might expect, its fullest expression among those who are on an equal footing with one another, or who share in the same common fortune (or misfortune). The existence of a leader who embodies in himself and defines the common ideal appears to be essential for the existence of most groups, since the original pattern of identification is based upon what the children would like to be, upon what they admire as an Ego-ideal, and what they respect as a Super-Ego, as well as upon what they are and share in common with one another. The readiness to submit to restrictions provided that they are the same for all, the demand for equality of treatment of the members of the group, that every one should count for one and no more than one, that there should be no undue favouritism or enjoyment of special privilege, except by the favoured few who by virtue of their function of leadership are exempted from the same treatment as the rest, are all characteristics which we expect to find displayed by the social impulse as the result of its origin. The demand that every one should not get more than his fair share may also become the demand that no one should get less than his fair share, which is socially a more valuable, but individually a less frequent, variation of the original demand.

We find, too, that the intrinsic attraction of social activity and social intercourse with others (of one's own group) becomes more convincing in the light of the origin of the social impulse, since, apart from any ulterior motives, such intercourse, by virtue of the mutual identification which exists between the individual members, is satisfying for its own sake. Some of the phenomena of imitation, sympathy, and suggestibility, whether of the individual or of the group variety, become more intelligible when we bear in mind that they presuppose the operation of the social impulse, and that they tend to enhance or strengthen already existing identifications. These tendencies provide the means by which the individual can take a more active part in the social life of his group, can feel more

¹ J. C. Flugel, 'Sexual and Social Sentiments', *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, vol. vii, 1927. Reprinted as chap. ii in *Men and Their Motive*, 1934.

at one with the other members of his group, and participate more freely in a common experience. The fact that the individual is, as a rule, most imitative, sympathetic, and suggestible in just those situations in which he is behaving as a member of his own group (or of a group of which he would like to become, or be regarded as, a member), while he is notoriously less imitative, sympathetic, and suggestible when in contact with others whom he does not recognize as members of his own group, or whom he despises as members of an inferior group, confirms the view that these tendencies may be regarded as expressions of the social impulse operating within the limits of a particular group.

Finally, the apparently paradoxical behaviour of the individual who sacrifices his own interests for the sake of the group, or who may even go so far as to offer up his own life so that his group may live, becomes less mysterious when we recall that the group itself has become a part of the individual through his identification with it. He dies that the group may live, that is, he dies for that which embodies his ideal self, whether in the abstract form of a social or moral ideal of a society, or in the more concrete form of a tribe, community, or nation, a fatherland or a motherland. His own physical death, and the extinction of his own egoistic gratifications, is not too great a price to pay for gratifying the demands of the very real self which is the group ideal or the embodied and personified group, the father or mother surrogate.

In addition to these characteristics of the social impulse which finds expression in the attitudes and behaviour of individual members to one another and to their group as a whole, there are other attitudes of a very different kind which come into play more particularly in relation to other groups and to the individuals who are members of these groups. The identification which lies at the basis of group psychology, while leading to the development of those attitudes and impulses without which a genuine group-life would be impossible, at the same time, and necessarily, gives rise to those veiled or overt manifestations of hostility directed against others which constitute the essence of the psychology of group prejudice. The greater and more intense the group feeling, that is, the stronger the identification between members of a group, the greater is the strength of the prejudice against the alien group and against those who are not members of one's own group. Social psychology may, or may not, have its laws, but there can be little doubt about the existence of that principle of group psychology according to which the feeling for one's own group and the feeling against some other group tend to wax and wane in direct proportion to one another.

The reason for this close association between these two apparently contradictory attitudes becomes clear when we bear in mind the nature of the psychological processes from which they are derived. We have tried to show that social behaviour and all that it implies in the way of group membership is not 'natural' to the individual in the sense that it is an expression of his original nature. It is only by a slow and painful and, therefore, reluctant process of development that the individual's original nature and impulses are changed into a form that makes his inward participation in group life as distinct from a mere external adherence to a group possible. The mechanisms of repression, sublimation, reaction formation, and identification by means of which this transformation is achieved, in whatever way we may try to account for them, nevertheless represent real processes at work within the individual which bring about a very real change in the nature of his original impulses. But the change is never complete, nor are the effects of the mechanisms ever entirely successful in overcoming the original aims of the impulses, even in the case of the most highly socialized individuals who are, in any case, always in a minority in any group. Although the individual may submit freely enough to the restrictions placed upon him by group laws, customs, conventions, and the like, he nevertheless feels these restrictions as a constant strain to be endured, though not without reactions of revolt and hostility, either latent or overt. These privations of everyday life which give rise to the 'discontents of civilization' may readily enough find expression in hostility directed against an 'out-group'—hostility that would otherwise vent itself at the expense of the 'in-group'. The deep-seated ambivalence which appears to be inseparable from the attitude of the individual even to objects which normally excite feelings of love and attraction, may also enter into, and enhance, the contrast between the attitudes towards the in-group and the out-group. In that case the one group may benefit at the expense of the other group, so that while the individual may freely give expression to the positive, or love, aspects of his attitude in relation to his own group, he may also, and at the same time, as freely give expression to the negative, or hate, aspects which lurk in the background of the same attitude, provided that they are diverted on to some other group.

A good deal of hostility, without a doubt, finds an outlet in the relations of members of the same group to one another, if only in the form of competition, rivalry, and mutual criticism. But there are limits beyond which this intra-group hostility may not go. For one thing, it must remain within the limits prescribed by the recognized laws and conventions of the group, so that, in the form of legalized

or socially approved behaviour, it remains under control. As soon as it goes beyond these carefully circumscribed limits and becomes an internal threat to the unity and security of the group, it is severely and drastically curtailed either by the deterrent of social disapproval or by the forceful infliction of punishment, by depriving the individual of his liberty and, in extreme cases, even of life itself. But with regard to the expression of hostility at the expense of the out-group, there are no such restrictions. The individual is free to express his hostility as freely as he likes, regardless of any consideration for others. In this way, the out-group becomes the recipient of a good deal of hostility, for which it is in no way responsible by direct provocation. In his relation to the out-group, the individual's attitude and behaviour may come to resemble that of a member of a mob. As such, the individual becomes 'desocialized'; he throws aside the restraints of everyday life and regresses to a more primitive or original level of behaviour. He becomes purely egoistic in his outlook, and, of course, incapable of any kind of rational thought or control over his impulses. Since, under the circumstances, all the individual members of a group are reduced to very much the same level, their behaviour displays a remarkable uniformity and individual differences tend to be swept away. In such a situation the individual is provided with the means of escape from the restraints of life within the group—hence the positive attraction of the mob-situation for many people. No new impulses are brought into existence, but 'individual inhibitions fall away and all the cruel, brutal, and destructive instincts which lie dormant in individuals as relics of a primitive epoch (or as survivals of original nature), are stirred up to find free gratification'.¹ In such a situation the individual enjoys a heightened sense of power, a feeling of omnipotence which may seem to compensate for any feeling of inferiority from which he may suffer as a member of his own group. The relations between the in-group and the out-group are really those of a 'state of war' in a more or less extreme form. The more highly disciplined an army, the greater is its aggressive spirit against an enemy. Hence, the greater the discipline of group life, its repressions, privations, and exactions, either in the form of moral, religious, or economic sanctions, the greater may we expect its aggressiveness to become at the expense of some other group or groups.

It is this hostility which arises from the fundamental dichotomy within the nature of man himself as a partially civilized being that is so pervasive and persistent. Even though we may reject the concept of a 'death' instinct as too speculative a basis, there can

¹ S. Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of an Ego*, p. 17.

be little doubt about the deep-rooted and unconscious source of a good deal of the individual's hostility. Internal conflicts which find expression in external social maladjustments of a more or less serious kind are universal, and an individual in a state of conflict is aggressive. Some of the aggressiveness may be directed inwards upon the individual himself, and find expression in the activity of the Super-Ego or primitive conscience, the primary functions of which are prohibitory and punitive. Some of it may find expression, as we have seen, through the carefully regulated conflict between members of the same group. But the most readily available channel of discharge, the one that represents the path of least resistance, is on to an alien and potentially hostile out-group. The internal conflict which is inseparable from the life of the individual as a member of a group becomes externalized as a conflict between groups, and so is made more tolerable. The psychological distinction, therefore, between in- and out-groups corresponds to a real division within the individual himself. As a form of insurance, the existence of the out-group covers the in-group against the risks of internal conflict and aggressiveness. If we could imagine a state of affairs in which such a group did not exist, it would become necessary to invent one, if only to enable members of the in-group to deal with conflicts, internal and external, without wrecking their own group.¹

Another principal source of the individual's hostility is to be found in the fact that the aims of the aggressive impulses are far less susceptible to aim-inhibition in the form of sublimation which is so characteristic of the libidinal impulses. Reaction formation, rather than sublimation, is the mechanism most frequently brought into play as a means of dealing with the original impulses of aggression that are aroused by the thwarting and obstruction of the primitive, pleasure-seeking, impulses or wishes of the individual. But reaction formation is a defence against a primary aggressiveness which remains unchanged in aim, though it may be deflected or displaced on to a new object. In this process of substitution the out-group very readily comes to play the role of the object, since the nature of the process through which it comes into existence ensures its appropriateness for that role. Identification has its limits

¹ One is reminded of the *mot* that if God did not exist it would become necessary to invent him. It could, as a matter of fact, be shown by an analysis of the origin and development of the religious attitudes that the belief in the existence of God has its roots in the same soil that nourishes the in- and out-group attitudes which we have been analysing in this text. In both cases the beliefs associated with the attitudes throw much more light upon the nature of the individuals who hold them than they do upon the objects about which they are held.

not only for intensity but for extent as well. It is most intense in the case of the family group, in which the primary identification of the child takes place. It becomes less intense for groups in which contacts are less intimate or less emotionally toned, or where there are fewer fundamental interests which can serve as a common basis for identification. And the more intense the identification with the smaller group, the less intense is the identification with the wider group, until sooner or later the limits are reached beyond which identification can no longer take place effectively. It is as if there were only a certain fund of energy available for identification, so that every individual's capacity in that direction is limited. Even before the limits of identification have been reached, the distinction between the in- and the out-group will have arisen in the qualified form of the distinction between primary and secondary groups. That distinction becomes still more firmly entrenched when the limits of effective identification are finally reached, and the out-group can serve as the object on to which the hostility engendered within the in-group can be diverted without any, or very little, of the restraint imposed by reaction formation.

Furthermore, the existence of the out-group as an object of hostility itself leads to an increased intensity of identification between members of the in-group, since a common object of hate is, in some respects, a stronger bond between individuals than a common object of love. This fact is well illustrated by the wave of patriotic fervour which may sweep over a country at the outbreak of a war, when class and party divisions disappear, if only for a time, and all are united and at one in their hatred of the common enemy. A common object of hostility may indeed make strange bedfellows even in the personal relationships of everyday life, so that two individuals scarcely on speaking terms with one another may become positively cordial as a result of their dislike of a third party.

The significance of the foregoing discussion on the origin of group prejudice, or the attitudes displayed by individuals as members of one group towards other groups and their representatives, becomes clear when we contrast it with other accounts of the nature of group prejudice. As an example, we may take the view according to which the prejudice between groups is at bottom a phenomenon of economic forces in the form of rivalry for trade, of different standards of wages or of living, of economic exploitation of class by class, and so on. According to this view, a capitalistic society is a particularly fertile breeding-ground for group (or class) prejudices, since by its very organization it leads to the creation of classes divided by economic barriers. Whether group prejudices

existed before society was organized on a capitalistic basis we are not told, but the implication appears to be that such prejudices would largely disappear once the present system was replaced by a communistic system in which there were no economic inequalities and hence no class or group prejudices. Such an explanation has an engaging air of simplicity, but, like most short cuts to our problem, it fails to take psychological realities into consideration. Its most serious defect lies in the fact that it places the cart before the horse. Economic factors, if they are to have any effect upon group prejudice, must presuppose the existence of the psychologically prior division into an in- and out-group. It is not because of their economic competition that Jews and Japanese excite hostility, but it is because they are Jews and Japanese that their competition is unfair, or underhand, or an offence to those who are neither Jews nor Japanese.

The point to bear in mind in an evaluation of the part played by these secondary, or specific, factors is that there can be no partiality for one group without prejudice against some other group or groups. The prejudice may assume more or less extreme forms according to the particular or accidental combination of specific factors, but the prejudice itself is a universal and necessary concomitant of the partiality for the group with which the individual has identified himself. Group prejudice and group partiality, group antipathy and group sympathy, are both the products of the same non-rational, primitive, and unconscious mental processes that have led to the partial conversion of the animal man into a human, moral, or social being who is always and everywhere more at home in one group than in some other group.

5. *The Functional Analysis of a Group Attitude towards the Native*

The group attitude towards the native, which we propose to analyse from a functional point of view, is that of the Afrikaans-speaking European group. It is not an attitude exclusively confined, or peculiar, to individual members of that group—it is, in fact, displayed by many individuals who are members of quite different groups—but it is found displayed with such a high degree of consistency and regularity by members of the Afrikaans-speaking group that we may regard it, in respect of this particular group, as an outstanding example of a genuine group-attitude. As such, and for the group in question, it serves certain ends or purposes which are more or less present to the minds of individual members. So long as the group attitude continues to perform its functions, it will continue to control the behaviour of the individuals who are

members of the group. Whether the ends served are worth while in themselves, or whether in the long run they might not be more effectively served by a change in attitude on the part of the group, are questions which obviously fall quite outside the scope of this discussion. All we are concerned with is an analysis of the functions which the group attitude actually does carry out for the individual in his capacity as a member of a particular group, or while he continues to identify himself with a particular group.

It appears possible to distinguish no less than six functions which are served by the group attitude. They are not all equally important, and some, no doubt, will be more prominent than others according to circumstances. All, however, are present to some degree, and may be expected to come into play at one time or another.

In the first place, the attitude serves directly the function of group preservation in a narrow sense. In the Union of South Africa a relatively small white group finds itself surrounded by a large black group, and outnumbered by more than three to one. On the principle that the best form of defence is attack, the white group tends to take advantage of its superior position to keep the native in his place, to prevent him from ever being in a position to threaten, or challenge, the existence of the white group as he has done in the past. Thus, through the operation of what we may call a fear motive, the group attitude comes to serve the function of preserving the security of the group against attack from an enemy, or at any rate, a potential enemy.

In the second place, the attitude serves the function of group preservation in a social sense. In the South African context, group and colour prejudice are identical, so that we find the white group, highly conscious of the colour difference which distinguishes it from the black group, striving to maintain its distinctive group colour, or racial exclusiveness, by keeping itself at a distance from, and above, the other group. Hence the group attitude that strenuously denies any kind of equality which may prepare the way for social equality and so lead on to miscegenation.

In the third place, the attitude serves the function of group preservation in a wider sense. As part of the social heritage of a well-defined and highly self-conscious group which is characterized by its conservative spirit, the attitude strengthens the feeling of group continuity. By means of its present attitude towards the native, the group can identify itself more readily with its living past, and so stand *super antiquas vias*.

In the fourth place, the attitude preserves group unity and identity. It is a commonplace in group psychology that the unity

of a group depends upon the ways of believing, feeling, and acting which are shared in common by its individual members. The attitude towards the native is one such way; hence any tendency to deviate on the part of an individual member has very little chance of developing so long as he wishes to regard himself, or to be regarded, as a member of a group. In other words, the attitude towards the native becomes the criterion of group membership and so ensures the unity of the group. And, since the attitude in question is a negative or hostile one, directed upon an out-group, it provides an outlet for the discharge of hostile impulses which might otherwise tend to weaken the unity of the in-group. With regard to the preservation of group identity, the function of the attitude becomes clear when we bear in mind that the group in question has long been characterized by this attitude, and that its hostile critics have always selected the attitude as a target for their critical shafts. The only effect of criticism coming from such a source has been to strengthen, rather than to weaken, the attitude, since it has become bound up with the preservation of group identity as against outside interference.

In the fifth place, the attitude serves the purposes of economic and class motives. In a social system in which the white group occupies a superior status in relation to a black group, the economic interests of the dominant group are served, and preserved, by insisting that the colour-line shall be identical with a horizontal division in the economic and political structures of South African society. Thus the attitude that insists upon keeping the native in his place will, at the same time, provide the white group with an ample supply of labour for the unskilled and poorly paid tasks of the community. Hence the economic exploitation of one class by another, to a degree which would be impossible were it not for the fact that the attitude based upon economic and class distinctions happens to coincide with, and is therefore overshadowed by, the more fundamental attitude based upon a colour distinction. And the meanest white may enjoy the compensation of a feeling of social superiority since, however poor his own economic status may be, he can always, merely by virtue of his skin-colour, find some one socially his inferior.

Finally, the attitude assists the process of adjustment to the native on the part of individual members of the group. Since the group attitude categorically defines the native as a social object, the individual will follow the path of least resistance by accepting the definition and acting accordingly. There is no need for him to discover for himself what adjustments to make; he is spared the effort by the rigid group-definition which prescribes the place of

the native in the scheme of things and how he is to be dealt with. And in this cut-and-dried scheme there is no room for the native as an individual, such as the white man is himself, but only for the native as a representative of an alien group or class. Hence the simple and easy adjustment to what is, after all, not the real native, but only a native-stereotype in the mind of the white man.

XIV

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS AFFECTING INDIVIDUAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE NATIVE

1. *A Preliminary Survey*

AGAINST a background of group psychology, such as we have outlined in the preceding chapter, we may now proceed to consider those factors which, either at the conscious or the near-conscious level of the mind, affect to a greater or less degree, and in some cases more than in others, the race attitudes of individual Europeans towards the native. Of the thousand and one factors that may play a part, very few, if any, we may assume, have any real intrinsic significance in determining individual attitudes apart from the context of the in- and out-group distinction in which they occur. Their role, in short, appears to be that of defining and maintaining an already existing distinction, of bringing into play social attitudes which presuppose it, and of providing them with the necessary means of expression.

As a first step in a systematic treatment of these psychological factors we propose in this section to survey briefly those factors which, at first sight, and in an obvious way, appear to have some influence upon individual attitudes. Throughout such a survey we must place ourselves in the position of the individuals so affected and look at the native from their point of view, in order to appreciate the full effect of the various factors upon their attitudes. After having disentangled some of the more important factors in this arm-chair fashion, we may then proceed to consider some data that have been collected for the sake of providing evidence of the existence of these factors, and which will enable us to assess their relative importance and the way in which they may vary from individual to individual. The data obtained and the methods used for obtaining them will be dealt with in the next section.

For the purpose of the preliminary survey, a portion of a paper written several years ago, when this study of race attitudes was still in its infancy, is reproduced. It will serve to show the point of view from which the psychological factors dealt with in this chapter were approached, as well as the lines along which the further investigation was conducted, the results of which are to be summarized in the next section.

'As affording material for the study of a problem in social psychology and not only for the study of historical, economic and

social problems, contact of white and black in this country has been strangely overlooked. For we have here two communities who have lived side by side for several generations and established relations of many kinds with one another. Such intimate contact over so lengthy a period of time has profoundly modified the economic and social life of both communities and it is this aspect of the problem which has hitherto received most attention; but it has also led to the development of attitudes, beliefs and forms of behaviour on the part of members of the white community which are not shared by members of white communities in other parts of the world. Here, in South Africa, we have an almost unique social environment, and we seek to enquire what its influence is upon the members of the white community—more particularly, what its influence is upon the attitude of a typical member of that community to the black or coloured community, and what are the factors which play a part in building up that attitude.

'We are all familiar with the typical attitude of the white to the black. Even a superficial analysis reveals it as a very complex attitude which expresses itself as a blend of superiority, dislike, hostility, contempt, fear.¹ Further, we know that it is an attitude which is acquired—though it may be based upon or developed out of innate tendencies—and that it is shaped by individual experience derived through interaction with the social environment. We may, using psychological terminology, speak of it as a sentiment, a system of emotional tendencies organised, as the result of experience, round some specific object in the environment—in this case, the black—and expressing itself in characteristic emotional reactions in the presence, or at the thought, of the black.

'When we attempt to give an account of the factors which give rise to this attitude or sentiment, we are confronted by a task of some considerable difficulty. The natural approach to the problem appears to lie in the direction of a systematic enquiry carried out on individuals themselves, members of the white community, as to the reasons why a particular attitude towards members of the black community is adopted by them. This method of enquiry, however, though it yields fruitful results, is by no means exhaustive or even reliable. In the first place, the factors which have been operative in bringing about the attitude may have occurred so early in the experience of the individual, for instance, in early childhood, that they can no longer be recalled; secondly, where

¹ Compare the recent case reported in *The Star*, March 13, 1935, in which a young native, aged 12 years, was convicted of throwing a stone at a passing motor-car. He gave as his reason that Europeans 'thought too much of themselves'.

through suggestion so much is done to develop the attitude, the individual may readily overlook the operation of certain factors; while, finally, some of the factors may be of such a nature that they are repressed, since the individual is not willing to admit that they play a part in affecting his attitude. Hence, in such cases, we find that, when an individual is asked to give the reasons for his attitude, such reasons are often mere rationalisations which, though they may serve to justify his attitude in his own eyes, do not, however, serve to explain it—that is, do not serve to account for the factors which actually have been or are operative in giving rise to the attitude and maintaining it.

Nevertheless, it is certainly worth our while, in pursuit of our problem, to give the results which can be obtained by what I have called the direct method. In reply to a question which was put to a group of twenty-five advanced students, men and women, in which they were asked to describe their attitude to the black community and to give reasons for their attitude, a variety of factors emerged upon which the following classification is based:

'In the first place, we have factors derived from the past contacts between white and black and transmitted to the present generation. Rightly or wrongly, the interpretation of such contacts emphasizes, especially in school text-books and in popular tradition, the fact of violent conflict between the two races. Massacres of unsuspecting whites by savage blacks in this country, tales of blood-thirsty savages perpetrating outrages on parties of innocent white men, women and children, form the staple of the accounts of the first contacts between white and black presented to the younger generation and excite emotional reactions in the minds of those who know of them merely by hearsay which have no small effect on their subsequent attitude as adults. Especially among the descendants of the Voortrekkers and that section of the white community who cherish their traditions, the influence of this factor is still of considerable importance. A trace of this influence may be seen in the fact that no native is allowed to possess fire-arms, that the rifle is the privileged possession of the white man and that, in the last resort, it is that weapon which may be relied upon to settle any dispute between white and black. Although no one in his senses anticipates a revival of armed conflict between white and black, any isolated outbreak of violence, such as the recent affair at Worcester, Cape Province, does excite intense emotional excitement in the minds of the whole white community, some of which is undoubtedly due to the operation of the factors mentioned above. Of some importance, also, for our theme was the fact that, very shortly after the Worcester affair, a daily paper in Johannesburg

endeavoured to increase its sales by issuing on two occasions within a week alarmist posters announcing further violent conflicts. On examination these turned out to be scuffles between the police and gangs of natives endeavouring to assault some of their own members who were being protected by the police! Finally, it may be noted in this context that, whenever bloodshed accompanies these conflicts between white and black, the worst offenders are frequently found to be unauthorized local civilians with fire-arms, who consider that they are justified in turning them against anyone with a black skin.

'Secondly, we find that our present economic, political and social structure invariably tends to lay upon the black the stigma of inferiority. From early childhood the white man is accustomed to look down upon the black as a member of the servant class, as one who definitely occupies an inferior status in the social system. The black man is at the beck and call of anyone with a white skin, his freedom of movement is restricted by pass laws and all the menial, unpleasant and irksome tasks are performed by his labour. From the point of view of the white man, his one supreme function is to perform the 'dirty' work of the white community. The result of such a system is, of course, unavoidable. The white child growing up in such a community inevitably tends to regard the black as a menial by nature, as an inferior to be looked down upon with feelings of superiority and contempt. Hence, there can be no question of comradeship between the white and black, for that implies a feeling of equality between the two, which is rendered impossible by the present social system, while any pretension to such equality on the part of individual members of the black community is either regarded as ridiculous, or, where it has some foundation in fact, excites excessive hostility, as we see in the case of the educated native. We are only too familiar with the attitude due to the association between the black and the functions which he performs in our community. Any kind of manual or menial work is "Kaffir" work, unfit for the individual who has had the good fortune to be born with a white skin. In the same way and by a similar process of association, a "dirty" stroke in a game of tennis is called a "Kaffir" stroke, while a decent person who "plays the game" is a "white" man even if he is a "nigger".

'Again, we find that the criminal class in this country appears to be almost exclusively recruited from the black community. Crimes of violence, of theft, of housebreaking, appear to the unreflective white individual to be a monopoly of the black man. If we wish to protect our houses against burglary, it is against the black man that our precautions are almost invariably taken. No

one could blame a visitor to our large towns if he came to the conclusion that all our convicts are black men, for whilst everywhere we see black convicts in prison garb at work in public places, black convicts being marched through the streets in charge of warders, the white convicts (of whom there must be some) are conspicuous by their absence. The ordinary white individual in South Africa, it is true to say, hardly ever sees a white convict. Here, again, we have factors at work which undoubtedly shape the attitude of a typical member of the white community towards the black, for they tend to excite fear of the black man, especially in the minds of unprotected white women and children.¹ The black man is always the villain of the piece, whether in real life or on the stage or cinema—to the small child he is the "bogey" man, who may haunt his imagination even when he is no longer a child.

A fourth group of factors affecting the attitude of the white to the black are of a pseudo-scientific nature. The native is regarded as a child in mental development. Lacking as he does the cultural equipment of the white man, he comes to be regarded as one who is incapable of acquiring that equipment. Hence arises the belief that the native is innately inferior in intelligence and lacking in a sense of responsibility. In some cases the strongly marked negroid features—thick lips, heavy jaw and broad, flat nose—and offensive bodily odour of the black, reinforce the belief that he belongs to a lower human order, as well as excite a feeling of repulsion.

The wholesale imitation of the white man on the part of the black is regarded by the former as a further proof of his own innate superiority. Where we find imitation giving rise often to incongruous results, the white man not only despises but also ridicules. Thus, the sight of a native girl smoking a cigarette, or of letters written in poor English which are so often quoted as good jokes, not only enhance the white man's feeling of superiority, but also tickle his sense of the ridiculous. Again, the native is often made an object of ridicule as evidenced in a small way by the use of names such as "Snowball", "Sixpence", etc., given to him by the white man.

Finally, we may group together all those factors which serve as a barrier preventing genuine social intercourse and prohibiting understanding between white and black. In any case, we would not expect the white man in view of his attitude to learn the language of the black, and this fact alone, apart from other considerations, makes a sharing of emotions, beliefs and ideas impossible between members of the two races. In so far as there is a

¹ It is no exaggeration to say that this fear is never really absent from the minds of many white women and girls, and that it is so widespread as almost to constitute a kind of "mass" neurosis.

common language between white and black, it is confined to the trivial and external affairs of the outer life of the two races—their inner and intimate affairs, a knowledge of which might lead to mutual understanding, remain unknown and both races, though in daily contact, lead a life remote from, and inaccessible to, the other.

'The combined effect of all the factors so far mentioned is the formation in the mind of the white man of an image, or picture, of the black race, as such, which determines his attitude to the individual members of that race. The white sees a member of that race, not as an individual personality like himself, but as a representative of an alien group, whose most striking characteristics are an inferiority in intelligence and knowledge, an inferiority in standard of living and occupation, a tendency towards violent and criminal practices, a behaviour which is childish and often ridiculous, in short, the opposite of all those qualities which form the image which the white man has in mind when he thinks of his own group. In spite of the numerous exceptions in both races, it is these images or concrete ideas strongly charged with emotion which determine the attitude of the white man both to members of his own group as well as to members of the alien group.'

2. *Individual Beliefs and Reactions*

In order to obtain some evidence for the statements made in the preceding section, it was considered desirable to devise a questionnaire of a kind that would elicit the required data. The questionnaire was of the so-called 'free' type, in which the subjects were allowed to answer a large number of questions in their own way. This type of questionnaire is admittedly a rather crude device, but as a means of obtaining data of a certain kind on a sufficiently large scale to justify statements and conclusions which might otherwise be challenged on the ground of lack of relevant evidence, it seemed desirable that some such investigation should be undertaken.

Approximately 150 copies of the questionnaire were distributed to students, of which 67, or 40 to 45 per cent., were returned, fully completed. The instructions attached to the questionnaire were as follows:

'An investigation is being conducted into the psychological factors which affect the attitude of White to Black, with special reference to South African conditions. The data obtained are to be used solely for scientific purposes.

'You are to give only your own personal opinions and not allow your answers to be affected by political considerations or moral considerations

¹ 'Psychological Factors affecting the Attitude of White to Black in South Africa', by I. D. MacCrone, *S. A. Journal of Science*, vol. xxvii, 1930.

or by the opinions of others. It is desirable, therefore, to answer the questions first before discussing them, or your answers, with others. If you wish, you need not sign your name to the questionnaire.

'In the event of your answering the questions, or as many of them as you can, and returning the questionnaire, you will be doing a great service to the investigator.

'N.B. Your answers will be regarded as strictly confidential. Answer the questions, therefore, according to the way you actually do feel and think, and not according to the way in which you think you ought to feel and think!'

What the attitudes of the subjects were who took the questionnaire is unknown, nor can they be regarded as a fair sample of any particular group or section of the European population. It seems reasonable, however, to assume that only those students who were for some reason or other specially interested in the relations between White and Black took the trouble to complete a lengthy questionnaire. It is probable that, had their attitude been measured, the central tendency would have been found to lie towards the favourable end of the scale. At the time, no scale for measuring attitudes was available, but applications of the scale, subsequently, to students in the same class have shown a central tendency lying well towards the favourable end of the scale.

'There were originally forty items in the questionnaire, of which the following thirty proved to be the most significant.

1. From your knowledge of South African history, including the Cape, Natal, Free State, and 'Transvaal, what aspect of the earlier contact between White and Black has impressed you most?
2. Mention, say, three episodes or instances learned at school or elsewhere, in the earlier contacts between White and Black in this country, which you remember most vividly.
3. What conclusions based upon these episodes did you draw with regard to the nature and characteristics of the Black as compared with the White?
4. Do you think that the Black of to-day still retains the same characteristics?
5. What reason would you give for the origin of the expression 'Kaffir work'?
6. Mention three kinds of work which you regard as 'Kaffir work'.
7. What is your attitude towards a white man or woman doing 'Kaffir work'?
8. Mention three kinds of work which you do not consider 'Kaffir work'.
9. Can you give any other instances of the word 'Kaffir' used in a colloquial or 'slangy' sense?
10. Do you think pass-laws, restrictions on the movements of natives, &c., a good thing? Try to give reasons for your answer.

11. Who do you think commit more serious crimes—white men or black—and why do you think so?
12. What are the kinds of crimes most frequently committed by black men?
13. Do you think that the crimes committed are the result of bad training, defective environment, &c., of the Black or are they due to his original nature?
14. Have you ever seen a white convict?
15. Underline in each of the following pairs the one emotion or feeling which is most frequently excited in you by the Black.

Answer: Sympathy or antipathy; friendliness or hostility; interest or indifference; fellow-feeling or superiority; fear or confidence; like or dislike; disgust or admiration; trust or distrust; respect or contempt.

16. Suppose you were asked to describe a black man or woman to some one who had never seen one, what physical features or peculiarities would you mention?
17. What kind of emotion or feeling is excited in you by the dark or black skin of the native—e.g. does it attract or repel you, do you find it pleasant or unpleasant, how would you be affected by touching it or would it leave you indifferent?
18. With what is the dark or black skin of the native associated in your mind compared, say, with a white skin?
19. Have you ever exchanged with a native, or has a native ever exchanged with you, any kind of confidence or belief or idea of a personal kind? If so, what kind of confidence, &c., and under what circumstances?
20. Have you ever desired to learn a native language in order to enter into the more intimate and personal thought, wishes, and interests of the native?
21. What particular aspect, or aspects, of the lives of uncivilized or primitive peoples interests you?
22. Do you think that the uncivilized person, man or woman, lives a more natural or freer kind of life, is less restricted than the civilized person?
23. In what respects, if any, do you think that the life of an uncivilized person is freer and less restricted than a civilized person's life, e.g. such as your own life?
24. Do you think that sex plays a much greater part in the lives of uncivilized persons as compared with those of civilized persons?
25. If a white man were to find a native woman sexually more attractive than a white woman, could you think of any reason for such greater attraction?
26. If a white woman were to find a native man sexually more attractive than a white man, could you think of any reason for such greater attraction?
27. In what way, if any, do you think that the sex factor plays a part in

- affecting the attitude of the white man towards the native, man or woman?
28. In what way, if any, do you think that the sex factor plays a part in affecting the attitude of the white woman towards the native, man or woman?
29. Why do you think do sexual crimes, e.g. rape, by native men against white women, excite so much more indignation and why are they so much more severely punished than the corresponding crimes of white men against native women?
30. Have you ever had a dream in which a native or black appeared?

Although we are not particularly enamoured of the questionnaire, many of the items do seem to have elicited information of a personal nature which to a very large extent supports some of the contentions which were put forward in the preceding section. Since that was, in the first place, the aim of the questionnaire, allowance must be made for what appears to be its one-sidedness and its harping upon certain themes at the expense of others. The surprising thing about the results is the wide measure of agreement between the individual answers, so that it becomes possible, in spite of the bewildering variations in expression, to detect the presence or general tendencies which point in one or other of a limited number of directions. This fact shows clearly enough the stereotyped nature of a good deal of personal belief and individual thinking about the native. But although the data elicited by the questionnaire appear, therefore, to justify broad generalization, any particular generalization should still be regarded as suggestive rather than as final.

We may begin with Item No. 15, which will give us some idea of the emotional reactions to the native on the part of subjects, excited by the questionnaire-situation.

Item No. 15. Underline in each of the following pairs the one emotion or feeling which is most frequently excited in you by the Black.

The frequency of endorsement for each member of a pair is given separately for men (No. 27) and for women (No. 40), and separately for the positive and for the negative emotions in the list.

	Women Men			Women Men	
Sympathy	19	9	Superiority	34	21
Friendliness	17	9	Fear	24	7
Interest	16	10	Indifference	21	11
Like	14	5	Disgust	19	13
Trust	11	6	Distrust	18	13
Confidence	10	13	Dislike	17	15
Respect	7	6	Contempt	16	11
Admiration	6	4	Antipathy	15	13
Fellow-feeling	4	3	Hostility	15	14
	104	65		179	118

For the list of positive emotions or feelings (or attitudes), the rank order in which they are placed, according to frequency of endorsement, is very much the same for the men as for the women (-0.94). The greatest discrepancy occurs in the case of 'Confidence', which is ranked first in the list for men and sixth in the list for women. For the list of negative emotions or feelings (or attitudes), the agreement in rank order is less close (-0.80). The greatest discrepancies occur in the case of 'Fear', which is ranked ninth and second, in the case of 'Indifference', which is ranked eighth and third, and in the case of 'Hostility', which is ranked third and ninth, by the men and by the women respectively. The definitely greater frequency of fear as an emotional reaction in the case of women as compared with men, and of hostility in the case of men as compared with women, is a characteristic and significant sex difference which is confirmed by the replies made to entirely different items in the questionnaire to be dealt with later.

Item No. 1. From your knowledge of South African history, including the Cape, Natal, Free State, and Transvaal, what aspect of the earlier contact between White and Black has impressed you most?

(Note: The replies are summarized by being classified under different headings which follow one another according to their importance as determined by the number of replies which fall under each heading. Unless there is any significant sex difference, no distinction is made between the replies of the men and of the women.)

(1) *Hostile, antagonistic, or warlike relations*, e.g. mutual hatred; always conflict; the continual fighting; the bitterness between the two; the wars and conflicts and murders; suspicious and hostile attitude; the definite and mutual antipathy; the antagonism between them; the eternal hostility between the two races; the antagonism displayed by natives towards the whites; the attacks of natives on the white settlers and their brutal treatment of them, &c.

(2) *Attitude and behaviour of the Whites*, e.g. white men always felt superior to blacks and considered them little better than animals; it appears that the blacks were always treated as vastly inferior; the way in which the whites ignored the blacks and their rights; total inconsideration of the average white for the blacks; &c.

(3) *Attitude and behaviour of the Blacks*, e.g. the treachery and unreliability of the black; the fact that the blacks did not give in without a struggle.

(4) *Miscellaneous*, e.g. the fight for land.

Item No. 2. Mention, say, three episodes or instances learned at school or elsewhere, in the earlier contacts between Black and White in this country, which you remember most vividly.

(1) *Events in Natal*, e.g. murder massacre of Piet Retief and his

company (mentioned 40 times); Battle of Blood River (26 times); murders, massacres and treachery by Chaka and Dingaan (13 times); massacre at Weenen (twice); excessive brutality and treachery of native leaders.

(2) *Events on Eastern Frontier*, e.g. War of the Axe (10 times); early Kaffir or Xosa Wars (4 times); murder of Hintsa; attack by natives on whites on Xmas Day, 1835; the mutual raiding over the Fish River, &c.

(3) *Voortrekkers*, e.g. Vegkop (4 times); the sudden attack on, and murder of, Voortrekkers; murders of white women and children especially in N. Transvaal; massacre of whites by natives e.g. Great Trek, &c.

(4) *Slagters Nek*, e.g. Slagters Nek rebellion (6 times); Hottentot soldiers sent to arrest a white rebel; Bezuidenhout refusing to be taken prisoner by Kaffirs; B. killed by Hottentot soldiers.

(5) *Hottentots*, e.g. murder of d'Almeida by Hottentots (twice); murders of whites by Hottentots during early days of D.E.I.Co.; stealing of Hottentots from the early settlers.

Bushmen, e.g. shooting of Bushmen by Boers (twice).

Basutos, e.g. wiliness and diplomacy of Moshesh (4 times); Wepener's attack on Basuto stronghold.

(6) *Missionaries*, e.g. interference of Dr. Philip; Philip's marriage to a native woman (?); missionary who lived with natives as a native, &c.

(7) *Slaves*, e.g. slave emancipation (twice); cruelty of white men to native slaves; treatment of slaves; life of slaves at the Cape, &c.

(8) *Miscellaneous*, e.g. great famine suffered by Ama Xosa (3 times); cruelty of black kings to their captives; charge of Zulu impis; carnage of blacks in warfare; faithfulness of Livingstone's servants; have only a confused idea of interminable raids and counter raids, &c.

Item No. 3. What conclusions based upon these episodes did you draw with regard to the nature and characteristics of the Black as compared with the White?

(1) *Treachery, Cruelty, and Bloodthirstiness of the Black*, e.g. black more cunning than white; treacherous, bloodthirsty, and thieving primitives; black man savage and revengeful; brutal and treacherous and inferior; rather admired the natives for their courage and ferocity yet loathed their brutality towards women and children; very untrustworthy; natives were always stealing cattle and attacking the whites; were vicious and cruel, &c.

(2) *The Black man's point of view*, e.g. black had spirit of independence and resented white man's encroachment (twice); that where there is hatred on either side it will lead to the same result; that the native is no more cruel than the white man but is in a less civilized state, &c.

(3) *Black and White*, e.g. both were fighting for supremacy; that when it comes to warfare, both black and white are cunning and clever; both prone to revenge; that the natives are as liable to break faith with the natives as the whites with the natives.

(4) *Inferiority of Black*, e.g. black is inferior to the white; vastly inferior and crueller.

Item No. 4. Do you think that the Black of to-day still retains the same characteristics?

(1) *Affirmative*, e.g. Yes (8 times); Yes, in a modified form (8 times); Yes, with a veneer of civilization (7 times); they dare not show it now; he is only prevented by fear of the whites who are well armed; essentially the same but has learned to submit; I think so; Yes—with isolated exceptions, &c.

(2) *Negative*, e.g. No (twice); No—generally speaking (twice) No—he has adopted white man's civilization; No—he has adapted himself to a slight extent to the white man's presence; No! not the educated black; I believe my conclusions were wrong—the blacks were, and are, not as vile as I was led to think.

Item No. 5. What reason would you give for the origin of the expression 'Kaffir work'?

(1) *Superiority feeling of White*, e.g. the whites thought the natives inferior in every way and so they gave them the unpleasant work to do (4 times); people owing to the number of black servants considered themselves above ordinary manual work (twice); the idea of the white man's superiority, &c.

(2) *Inferiority of Black, Conditioning*, e.g. natives usually given most menial task to perform; manual labour done by and associated with native (10 times); reason is that he is considered to be our inferior in every respect, &c.

(3) *Effect of Slavery*, e.g. the old idea of slavery still persisted; the first white men employed slaves or coloured people to do manual work; slaves were as a rule black and did the dirty work, &c.

Item No. 6. Mention three kinds of work which you regard as 'Kaffir work'.

(1) *Sanitary work*, e.g. sanitary work (15 times); collection of sanitary buckets; removing lavatory buckets; night cart work; emptying dirt boxes (4 times); scavenging (3 times); cleaning streets (5 times); cleaning up dirty places, &c.

(2) *House and Domestic Work*, e.g. washing dishes and scrubbing floors (9 times); cleaning stove and making fire (4 times); kitchen work (twice); rough house work, &c.

(3) *Navvy work*, e.g. road work (12 times); carrying and loading (4 times); pick and shovel work (3 times); unskilled building work; digging drains, &c.

(4) *Mine work*, e.g. mines (7 times); using the jack hammer, &c.

(5) *Agriculture*, e.g. cattle herding (4 times); ploughing (3 times); rough work on farms, &c.

(6) *General*, e.g. heavy manual work (twice); work requiring strength but no intelligence, &c.

(7) *Objection to use of expression*, e.g. I do not consider any work Kaffir work (5 times); I think that all labour is to be done by all men.

Item No. 7. What is your attitude towards a white man or woman doing 'Kaffir work'?

(1) *Pity and sympathy*, e.g. they should *not* do it—it arouses pity; inclined to pity but by no means unsympathetic; pity and sometimes admiration; my attitude is one of sympathy; a feeling of sympathy towards the white and partly a feeling that he deserves what he is doing; pity if he can't help it, contempt if he can; pity (5 times), &c.

(2) *Contempt*, e.g. feeling of disgrace to the white race; contempt (twice); they must be of the very lowest grade of white; they must be doing it as a last resource; slightly superior and patronizing; superior and a little sympathy, &c.

(3) *Admiration and Respect*, e.g. I admire them for their noble effort; they are to be regarded with respect; I respect him and feel sorry for him; pity and admiration, &c.

(4) *Approval*, e.g. white people should not be ashamed to do such work; I approve of their doing it; it is not degrading but honourable; there is no disgrace attached to a white man or woman doing honest work; it is quite all right so long as he earns his money honestly, &c.

(5) *Disapproval*, e.g. he is either unfortunate or hopeless; he is leaving the accepted status of the white man and is therefore a fool, &c.

(6) *Other attitudes*, e.g. indifferent mostly (twice); indifference, certainly not contempt, *sometimes pity*; tolerant—they do it in Europe; as I don't consider any work Kaffir work, I can't give an answer to this question, &c.

Item No. 8. Mention three kinds of work which you do not consider 'Kaffir work'.

(1) *Professional work*, e.g. professions (14 times); school-teaching (including University lecturer) (13 times); Medical and legal work (8 times); nursing (twice); accounting, architecture, research work, scientific and literary work, art, &c.

(2) *Business work*, e.g. clerical and office work (14 times); dealing with money (3 times); higher commerce; bank teller, &c.

(3) *Administrative, Supervisory, and Responsible work*, e.g. work involving responsibility (5 times); administrative posts; overseer work; supervisors; work involving control of others, &c.

(4) *Domestic work*, e.g. tending children and babies (5 times); cooking (6 times); housework (4 times); making beds and cleaning bedrooms (3 times); light household tasks; sewing, &c.

(5) *Intellectual and skilled work*, e.g. mental work (5 times); skilled work (5 times); engine-driving; bricklaying; skilled artisan work, &c.

(6) *Objection*, e.g. I regard no work as not Kaffir work.

Item No. 9. Can you give any other instances of the word 'Kaffir' used in a colloquial or 'slangy' sense?

(1) *Derogatory sense* (especially in games), e.g. Kaffir trick (20 times); denoting something underhand; a Kaffir ball (in cricket) indicating

unfairness; a Kaffir shot (in tennis) applied to a sneaky shot (2 times); Kaffir play is dirty play; as an epithet to give the idea of meanness and untrustworthiness, &c.

(2) *Term of Contempt and Abuse*, e.g. as a term of contempt (4 times); any low-down person (twice); applied to a disgusting and unpleasant person; 'you dirty Kaffir'—worst of all 'you white Kaffir'; terms of abuse among children (twice); you smell like a Kaffir (twice); people talk of being treated like a Kaffir, &c.

Item No. 10. Do you think pass-laws, restrictions on the movements of natives, &c., a good thing? Try to give reasons for your answer.

(1) *Affirmative*, e.g. Yes (48 times); Yes, within reasonable limits; safety measure for whites but degrading to blacks, &c. *Reasons*: it prevents habits of looting; they have not yet sufficient sense of responsibility; because the population of uneducated blacks is so numerous; it deters a native leaving his employment easily; passes keep them in order; natives are like senseless children who have to be controlled; prevents the native from roaming about at all hours of the night; absence of restrictions would mean admission to professional and social status of the whites; they must be kept in check for security; the native is not civilized enough to control himself; it gives them a sense of duty to their employers and the Government; they need controlling until they are as civilized as we are—they are too irresponsible, &c., &c.

(2) *Negative*, e.g. No (9 times); No, but a necessary evil. *Reasons*: they are human the same as whites; we have no right to impose restrictions on blacks and not on whites; restriction retards economic progress and gives them a hostile attitude towards whites; they are offences against the principle of freedom; they are not able to move about freely and place their labour to the best advantage, &c.

Item No. 11. Who do you think commit more serious crimes—white men or black—and why do you think so?

(1) *White men* (30 times), e.g. because of longer experience they get away with crime better than natives; because they are more intelligent; white murder, natives kill; they hold more responsible positions; more cunning (twice); because they have more brain; they ought to realize the crime of crime, &c.

(2) *Black men*, (16 times), e.g. because they are more primitive; their instinct has not become so modified; greater numbers, ignorance, economic hardships, hostility; because of their ignorance, crudeness, and callousness, &c.

(3) *Equal or Indefinite*, (11 times), e.g. I think that both commit equally serious crimes although the native crimes are usually of a more primitive and less scientific nature; often the crimes of white men are more serious in that they are so carefully planned and executed, but the crimes of natives are often crueller and more vindictive, &c.

Item No. 12. What are the kinds of crimes most frequently committed by black men?

- (1) *Theft* (58 times), *Housebreaking* (7 times).
- (2) *Rape* (27 times).
- (3) *Assault* (23 times), *Murder* (17 times).
- (4) *Intoxication* (including fighting, brawling, knifing) (18 times).

Item No. 13. Do you think that the crimes committed are the result of bad training, defective environment, &c., of the Black or are they due to his original nature?

- (1) *Bad Training, defective environment, &c.* (44 times).
- (2) *Original nature* (10 times).
- (3) *Mixed* (13 times), e.g. defective environment supplements his natural cruelty; partly due to his original nature but more to bad training and environment; due in part to all three causes.

Item No. 14. Have you ever seen a white convict?

Men: Affirmative, e.g. Yes (15 times); yes—once, only in bioscope films (twice); Yes—on a visit to the Fort, &c.

Negative, e.g. No (7 times).

Women: Affirmative, e.g. Yes (9 times); Yes—once.

Negative, e.g. No (29 times); No—except as a photo in a daily newspaper.

Item No. 16. Suppose you were asked to describe a black man or woman to some one who had never seen one, what physical features or peculiarities would you mention?

(1) *Skin Colour*, e.g. black skin; black or dark-brown skin; brown skin; copper-coloured skin; black, shiny skin; black, greasy-looking skin; fine texture of skin; black colour, dark colour, &c.

(2) *Nose*, e.g. flat nose (32 times); broad flat nose (6 times); broad nose (4 times); blunt nose; broad nostrils (3 times); wide nostrils; shape of nose (twice), &c.

(3) *Mouth and Lips*, e.g. large mouth (twice); mouth, &c., thick lips (30 times); thick protruding lips (7 times), &c.

(4) *Hair*, e.g. woolly hair (18 times); black, woolly hair (3 times); frizzy hair (5 times); fuzzy hair; crinkly hair; peppercorn hair; similarity in hair between male and female, &c.

(5) *Teeth*, e.g. teeth (4 times); very white teeth; strong white teeth; white, shining teeth; wonderful teeth; splendid teeth; beautiful teeth; fine teeth, &c.

(6) *Eyes and Face*, e.g. black eyes (8 times); dark eyes with much white; brown eyes; brown or black eyes; inexpressive eyes; faces not very intelligent looking; resemblance to an animal in expression; unrefined and animal-like faces, &c.

(7) *Physique*, e.g. usually have fine physique (10 times); well-built, finely built; fine stature of men, swaying carriage of women; good carriage,

especially women (3 times); beauty of body; lithe, upright walk; physical strength; excessive development of female hips; clumsy carriage, &c.

(8) *Bodily Odour*, e.g. odour (3 times); peculiar smell, a strange characteristic; peculiar odour of skin; unpleasant smell (twice); disgusting smell, &c.

(9) *Feet*, e.g. flatness of feet, large flat feet.

(10) *Voice*, e.g. loud voices (twice).

Item No. 17. What kind of emotion or feeling is excited in you by the dark or black skin of the native—e.g. does it attract or repel you, do you find it pleasant or unpleasant, how would you be affected by touching it, or would it leave you indifferent?

Men: Negative, i.e. repellent (16 times), e.g. it repels me by giving the impression of being dirty; I look upon the skin of the native with slight repulsion as being something of an inferior race; feeling of repulsion, some natives I can touch indifferently but some seem as if they would contaminate and pollute my hand; it repels me and I hate to touch natives although such repugnance should not be, &c.

Positive, i.e. attractive (once), e.g. normally a feeling of admiration.

Ambivalent (twice), e.g. attracts me to a small extent, an ebony skin repels; the sight of it may be attractive, but the touch of it is loathsome.

Indifferent (8 times) e.g. absolute indifference; it neither attracts nor repels me but leaves me quite indifferent in all respects; having seen dark skins so often I am indifferent towards them. I should not mind touching them, e.g. to dress wounds, &c.

Women: Negative, i.e. repellent (22 times), e.g. it repels me and I find it extremely unpleasant; native skin repels me—odour unpleasant and instinctive revulsion on touching it; black skins do not appeal to me; the black skin repels me and to touch it makes me feel creepy; being a woman the native's skin repels me and I would not like to touch it if it belonged to a man as I would be afraid; it repels me—I should very much dislike to touch that of a male whereas the touch of the female leaves me indifferent; the very idea of coming into contact with it makes me shudder; I cannot look on the skin of a native man without an unpleasant feeling, but, on the other hand, I can view the skin of a native woman with indifference, &c.

Positive, i.e. attractive (4 times), e.g. the sight of a black skin pleases me—its colour and texture attract me; the dark skin of the native attracts me—I would be left quite indifferent by touching it; it is very beautiful—indifferent to touch, &c.

Ambivalent (twice), e.g. from the artistic point of view I think it is beautiful—but it repels me to think of touching it because it seems dirty; has the same attraction as a snake skin—repulsively attractive.

Indifferent (12 times), e.g. I don't think I feel emotion of any kind except a disinclination to touch; the black skin neither attracts nor repels me. I am too used to seeing it; I find it largely a matter of personal cleanliness; indifference, probably repelled by touching it; the sight of a black skin leaves me indifferent—I might be repelled by the touch, &c.

Item No. 18. With what is the dark or black skin of the native associated in your mind compared, say, with a white skin?

(1) Dirt, &c. (21 times).

(2) Smell, &c. (5 times).

(3) Inferiority (4 times).

(4) Uncivilized state (4 times).

(5) Evil (twice).

(6) *Miscellaneous*, e.g. with absence of restraint; with sketchy clothing; with alien race; with African sun, not with filth; with black shadows — night; with natural existence, &c.

Item No. 19. Have you ever exchanged with a native, or has a native ever exchanged with you, any kind of confidence or belief or idea of a personal kind? If so, what kind of confidence, &c., and under what circumstances?

Men: Affirmative (15 times), e.g.

(1) *Inter-racial relations* (5 times), e.g. intermarriage, oppression of blacks by whites; the fact that it is the white man of the towns that is corrupting the young natives, &c.

(2) *Religion*, including witchcraft (4 times), e.g. life after death; concerning witchcraft, &c.

(3) *Sex* (twice), e.g. a native told me that sexual intercourse was natural and therefore could never be immoral. I think he really believes it, &c.

(4) *Miscellaneous* (4 times), e.g. have heard one or two confidences of minor importance. A native once annoyed me considerably by muttering something about the 'colour bar' when he gave way to me in a queue at the railway station and made me wonder whether such sentiments were general, &c.

Negative (12 times), e.g. no; never; none.

Women: Affirmative (20 times), e.g.

(1) *Domestic and Personal* (8 times), e.g. stories of their piccanins; I frequently have long, friendly conversations with our native servant girls when I am working in the kitchen; several natives have told me of their wives and children, &c.

(2) *Religion*, including witchcraft (3 times), e.g. belief in after life, in evil spirits, &c.

(3) *Sex* (twice), e.g. trying to educate native girl in sexual behaviour; trying to teach right and wrong to a native woman.

(4) *Inter-racial relations* (once), e.g. I have met some well-educated natives and talked of their problems with them. I have also had unpleasant experiences due to their uncontrollable instincts.

(5) *Miscellaneous* (6 times), e.g. legends; musical instruments.

Negative (20 times).

Item No. 20. Have you ever desired to learn a native language in order to enter into the more intimate and personal thoughts, wishes, and interests of the native?

(1) *Affirmative* (42 times), e.g. in order to see their point of view; to

learn about their habits and customs; in order to understand them better, &c.

(2) *Negative* (20 times).

(3) *Ambiguous* (5 times). e.g. have desired but merely to speak it; merely for the beautiful sounds of the language, &c.

Item No. 21. What particular aspect, or aspects, of the lives of uncivilized or primitive peoples interests you?

(1) *Customs and Beliefs* (29 times).

(2) *Religion and Superstitions* (19 times).

(3) *Sex, Marriage, and Home Life* (15 times).

(4) *Methods of livelihood* (8 times).

(5) *Miscellaneous* (16 times), e.g. their happy carefree attitude; freedom from worry and responsibility; their lack of convention; they seem satisfied with so little, &c.

Item No. 22. Do you think that the uncivilized person, man or woman, lives a more natural or freer kind of life, is less restricted than the civilized person?

(1) *Affirmative* (52 times), e.g. because civilization brings more restrictions with it; he is not bound by our unhealthy social restraints, &c.

(2) *Negative* (11 times), e.g. he is bound hand and foot by tradition; certainly not, except in matters of sex where they are much more natural, &c.

(3) *Ambiguous* (4 times), e.g. he has taboos and superstitions; I think the uncivilized person less restricted according to our moral codes, but restricted by his superstitions, &c.

Item No. 23. In what respects, if any, do you think that the life of an uncivilized person is freer and less restricted than a civilized person's life, e.g. such as your own life?

(1) *Freedom from convention*, e.g. less restricted by social convention; less convention in intercourse; unshackled by convention in dress; not restricted in any way by convention or public opinion or petty things; in respect of the clothes they wear and petty conventions which one must observe in society; he has not so many social requirements to keep up; not bound down by the crust of custom to social fads such as dress, class distinctions, and superficial conventions, &c.

(2) *Freedom from responsibility, worry, competition in earning a living, life less complicated*, e.g. they have few responsibilities; their needs are easier to satisfy than ours; free to lead a simpler life; under few obligations; they have not keen competition to earn a living; life is less complicated; free and easy life; a savage has no regular and monotonous time-table to work to, &c.

(3) *Freedom from restriction*, e.g. they do not repress their natural tendencies; freedom from sexual desires; there are no moral restrictions of any kind; gratification of sexual impulses; can marry when they want

and whom they want; they have more outlet for their emotions; has no moral laws, lives by instinct and impulse; far less restricted morally, &c.

Item No. 24. Do you think that sex plays a much greater part in the lives of uncivilized persons as compared with those of civilized persons?

(1) *Affirmative*, e.g. uncivilized people more 'animal' than civilized; nearer animals; sex plays a greater part because no need to sublimate it; an uncivilized person gives an instinct free play like an animal; their sex instincts are nearer the animal than ours; love does not play so great a part; it is not surrounded by so much mystery; have nothing else to think about; because of the greater leisure of the native and the greater potency; blacks have fewer avenues of sublimation, &c.

(2) *Ambiguous*, e.g. unlike the case of civilized people it is not so stilled and therefore they are less conscious of it; they have not to restrict their sex impulses - it is probably because we restrict sex that we are worried by it; not so great a part because there are not so many restrictions placed on sex; no—civilized persons have to bow down to convention and therefore sex plays a greater part because suppressed; the sexual relations are comparatively unrestricted and therefore do not give rise to the problems civilized people have, &c.

(3) *Negative*, e.g. sex is something fundamental—common to all humanity; uncivilized people have a natural clean outlook and not a morbid obsession such as many whites have; sex plays as great a part but the sex impulse is satisfied by the inevitable marriage; no—an equal part, may even appear less because more normal and uncomplicated; no—they take it as a natural thing like eating and sleeping and are not interested, &c.

Item No. 25. If a white man were to find a native woman sexually more attractive than a white woman, could you think of any reason for such greater attraction?

Reasons: Greater novelty; native women often appear more sensual than white women and are probably freer in their sexual relations; more voluptuous and less restrained; she may have more primitive 'abandon'; more like an animal and therefore more like himself; because native women are often practically nude and tempt white men; a man can let himself go with a native and could not with a white woman; the very difference between white man and black woman; only an inexplicable perversion; might be mentally deficient, &c.

Item No. 26. If a white woman were to find a native man sexually more attractive than a white man, could you think of any reasons for such greater attraction?

Reasons: Perhaps greater physical strength and virility and novelty; beauty of physical fitness; physique may be an attraction; more animalistic; because the native is of a more primitive race—caveman; if she

admired the primitive in man; if she looked upon him as a more virile being; his greater potency; I cannot conceive of a white woman ever being attracted to a black man; an even more inexplicable perversion; she might not be quite sane, &c.

Item No. 27. In what way, if any, do you think that the sex factor plays a part in affecting the attitude of the white man towards the native, man or woman?

Answers: It probably plays an unconscious part; the white is jealous of the freer sexual life of the native and so takes it out of him; the white man is jealous of the possibility that the black man will be his rival sexually—he is probably unconsciously attracted by the black woman and consciously tries to dislike her; unconsciously the white man is attracted, therefore consciously he is repelled by the native; secret shame at attraction for native women might cause strong outward animosity; repressed sexual desires for the native manifest themselves as hatred and fear; jealousy of the greater potency of the black; I think that there may be a tendency to regard him as a rival sexually; he considers the native man as a possible menace to his wife, his mother, &c., the native woman he looks upon with repulsion; fear of racial intermixture; we consider what objectionable people the Cape Coloured are who are the result of miscegenation; white person averse to bastard offspring; through the fear of inter-marriage and the consequent arising of a mixed race; he is afraid to educate the native man or woman up to his own level because of the thought of inter-marriage, &c.

Item No. 28. In what way, if any, do you think that the sex factor plays a part in affecting the attitude of the white woman towards the native, man or woman?

Answers: She regards all native men as possible sources of danger to herself, looks on most native women as prostitutes; women fear natives because of their repeated assaults on them; a white woman is always afraid of natives; the white woman fears the uncontrolled factor; white women fear native men—this fear is sexual, for the white woman imagines all black men uncontrolled sexually; I think fear of sexual assault dominates the white woman's attitude to the native man; it causes an instinctive fear and distrust of the native man; the sex factor is a continual source of fear; fear is instilled in the white woman in relation to the native man; in the attitude towards a black man it excites fear and distrust and antagonism, but towards a black woman I feel fellow-feeling and sympathy; to the native man her attitude is one of fear, to the native woman one of disgust if she thinks of the woman as disgracing her sex by moral lapses; the white woman is normally scared of the native boy should the latter's passions be aroused, she regards the native girl as a degraded creature because loose; question of inter-marriage is often advanced by white women as an argument against education of native; prude might feel horror at thought of natives' sexual freedom, &c.

Item No. 29. Why do you think that sexual crimes, e.g. rape, by native men against white women excite so much more indignation and why are they so much more severely punished than the corresponding crimes of white men against native women?

Answers: Because the white woman is regarded as a more highly advanced creature—the race horse is superior to the draught horse; because the whites are considered superior to the blacks; because of our feeling of superiority; because the native is touching that which is superior—the white man is taking one of the rights of superiority; because a native man is uncivilized and so trespasses on the rights of a civilized person whereas white man takes advantage of an uncivilized person; the consequences are socially worse for the white woman, ethically the native woman is just as much wronged; partly because we think so little of the native—white man feels as if *his* woman were hurt; because natives are looked upon as inferior beings and therefore grossly impudent in attempting crimes of such a nature; because whites are superior to blacks—presumption on black people's part; the status of the white woman is higher than that of black woman; because white men respect the position and social status of their women and black men do not; white women are brutally forced whereas native women do not have high morals; because the thought must be more repugnant to a white woman; because we think that white prestige is thereby threatened; because this country is governed by Europeans; because of false sense of justice.

Item No. 30. Describe any dream you have had in which a native or black appeared.

Men: (15 dreams reported), e.g. most of the scenes in which blacks appeared were ones of strife—a second Blood River—at times nightmarish but finally victorious; a fight in which armed natives appeared and my shooting at them and their shooting at me; they are hazy memories but I am unable to recall the circumstances—probably native as power of evil—to me the native is alternately red and black; dreamt that natives rose against whites and attacked houses—I had to defend home; dreamt that a native was threatening me in some way—looming over me while I was powerless; dreamt of a native climbing through bedroom window while I was in bed—meanwhile I was in a blue funk; being chased by natives; I have dreamt that a native was chasing me; being chased by a black woman, caught and mutilated; while at work a native of great physique attacked me with his knobkerrie and knocked me down; had a fight with three and beat them, &c.

Women: (24 dreams reported), e.g. I dreamt that as I walked home late one afternoon a native began to chase me—I woke up paralysed with fear; frequently a dream of a native chasing me with a gleaming knife in one hand; dreamt that a native was chasing me and my legs would not move; I have often dreamt of natives and Indians—they have usually chased me with knives, &c., or burgling the house, and the

dreams have been extremely terrifying; I have often dreamt—especially as a child—that a native man was chasing me and I was unable to run away; a native came in through my bedroom window with a knife—I fled pretending I didn't see him and wasn't afraid; in my adolescence I very frequently dreamed of male natives attempting to murder me by stabbing and strangulation and had many dreams of a sexual nature, sometimes pleasant and sometimes not; I once dreamt that a native was standing in my room—the fact that he was there caused me to shriek with fear; a very repulsive dream in which I was not able to escape from a native who had me in a corner and was just about to touch me—I was powerless; I have dreamt that I was left at home alone and that a native entered and tried to choke me; I dreamt I was leading a commando against a native army and pushing them over a large mine dump, &c.

Any kind of detailed commentary upon the replies which appear in the text and which we have tried to make as representative as possible does not seem called for. But we would like to draw attention to the very definite tendencies which underlie Items 1-4. For example, in Item No. 2 only a solitary instance relieves the violent and bloody record, namely, that of the faithfulness of Livingstone's servants. The implications of the record stand out in the replies given to Item No. 4. We would also like to draw special attention to Items 6, 9, 10, 16, 17, and 18 on account of the importance of the material they provide for a study of race attitudes. The replies to the concluding items also deserve special attention though they are not dealt with in this chapter.

3. *History and Tradition*

The more remote historical background of the contemporary race attitudes have been dealt with in Part I. Of the race contacts of that time very little or nothing survives that can be regarded as having any direct, conscious influence upon the attitude towards the native to-day. Popular history and tradition so far as they play any effective part in shaping race attitudes at the conscious level, hardly, if at all, go farther back than the events associated with the Great Trek of a century ago. Around this movement, however, there has grown up such a wealth of popular tradition and of popular sentiment in the minds more particularly of the older section of the European population, that it seems hardly an exaggeration to say that the Great Trek is the historical epic in action, and the Voortrekkers the historical heroes, of the present generation of Afrikaans-speaking South Africa.¹

¹ For a sympathetic, but balanced, account of the 'Voortrekkers, men and women, as they really were, as ordinary human beings, and not as super-men and women, see E. A. Walker, *The Great Trek*. Any criticism of, or reflection

The Voortrekker period which began so auspiciously soon found the frontier farmers involved in the most critical and desperate of all their struggles against the Bantu. The events in Natal, for example, as reflected by the personal narratives of those who took part in them,¹ are unparalleled in the history of race contacts in this country. From day to day, for months on end, the Voortrekker community which had entered Natal with such hopeful anticipations lived in an atmosphere of tragedy and impending disaster. It was no wonder that, under the circumstances, they regarded their survival and ultimate victory as a proof of Divine assistance, and that they dedicated the day on which God gave the victory. The annual celebration of that day at the present time, with its social, political, racial, and religious implications and its memories of 'old unhappy far-off things', is an event calculated to reinforce the traditional attitude, not only by exciting emotions directly associated with those past contacts between the two races, but also by bringing into play the whole pattern of related attitudes. In such an atmosphere, group consciousness is raised to a higher and more emotional level, with a corresponding intensification of the exclusive group attitude against the native as the traditional past enemy as well as the potential future enemy of the group.² As an illustration of the power of an historical 'myth' which has become part of the mental pattern and outlook of a group, to determine the attitudes of its individual members, it would be difficult to find a more beautiful example than that of the Great Trek.³

Effects of a similar kind are produced by accounts of race contacts which are found set out in school text-books. These accounts are, as a rule, written from the frontier point of view with its emphasis upon the native as aggressor and upon his savage and bloodthirsty nature. Thus, the whole history of race contacts between Europeans and Bantu tends to be distorted, and it is not surprising that in the overwhelming majority of cases the only effect of such teaching and such teachers is to develop a strongly conditioned race attitude whose appropriate stimuli are the massacre of Piet Retief and his followers, or the Battle of Blood River, or an endless series of Kaffir Wars on the Eastern Frontier. We have no desire to over-emphasize the influence of this rather sinister historical background upon the contemporary attitude of upon, the Voortrekkers arouses strong feelings of personal resentment among their descendants to-day, as the author of *War, Wine, and Women* discovered to his cost.

¹ See *Voortrekkermense*, by G. S. Preller.

² On this point see the heterodox article, 'Impromptu Reflections on Dingaan's Day' by Jacques Malan in *The Critic*, vol. 1, no. 2. 1932.

³ It hardly appears necessary to add, but nevertheless it may be desirable to do so, that the term 'myth' in this context is *not* being used in any derogatory sense. For its meaning as used, see Preface.

Europeans, especially members of the Afrikaans-speaking section, but there can be little doubt that, if only as a background, it must have some share in determining that attitude.

In other and less obvious ways tradition and traditional attitudes have their part to play in shaping the attitudes of Europeans towards the man with the black skin. The resentment felt against those who advocate a more liberal policy towards the native, or who would even go so far as to throw doubt upon the assumptions underlying the white man's hegemony in South Africa, is partially a reflection of the frontier mentality that regards any interference of such a kind as an act of hostility, if not of treachery.¹ The ghosts of Exeter Hall and of Dr. Philip are not allowed to rest, and it is still considered by many that to describe a man as a negrophilist is to have effectively disposed, not only of him, but of his views as well. It is only those who follow the 'right' tradition, that is, the tradition of the Voortrekkers who were the most typical frontiersmen of their day, who 'know' how to deal with the problems of race contacts and race relations in twentieth-century South Africa. It is the views of these men who were 'on the spot' more than a hundred years ago which to-day are still regarded as a form of revelation, any departure from which is almost as shocking as a heresy. Hence, the lack of sympathy and of indifference to the fate of the native as such, the failure to consider any other point of view than that of the group to which the European himself belongs. Whenever any measure is introduced or projected for benefiting the population of South Africa it is, of course, the European section of that population whose interests are being considered.² This exclusive regard for the interests of one group is an attitude which it would be unfair to condemn as simple callousness or as the expression of brutal exploitation and deliberate repression. It is, in fact, largely a matter of habit—the survival of a group tradition which goes back to the time when for the sake of its own self-preservation the group was obliged to consider only its own interests.³ Under the circumstances we do not anticipate any very highly developed sense of obligation to those who are the representatives of a group which once was, and still is, regarded

¹ Compare the account given by Swellengrebel, above, p. 130.

² In view of the recent legislation, especially the Native Trust and Land Act, passed by the Union Parliament, this statement must be qualified. Even so, at a recent political meeting in the Free State, addressed by one of the Ministers, the following question was put by a political opponent: 'Would it not be better to buy land for poor Afrikaners and put natives with them as servants'?—the Government's policy being represented as buying land for natives to the value of millions of pounds while doing nothing for the thousands of poor Afrikaners, who were landless and destitute. See full report in *The Star*, Aug. 13, 1936.

³ Compare E. A. Walker, *The Frontier Tradition in South Africa*.

as a menace. The persistency of the traditional attitude can also be more fully appreciated when we bear in mind the influence of the religious background out of which so much of that attitude developed. When the Great Trek into the wilderness began, the farmers had drawn courage from the belief that they were under the guidance of Providence, and that they, like the Israelites, were a chosen people set aside from the heathen by whom they were surrounded. In so many ways could the history and teaching of the Old Testament be made to apply to the circumstances in which the Voortrekkers found themselves that we expect to find, and actually do find, what may be called the spirit of the Old Testament re-forming to a far greater extent than it had ever done before the characteristic European race attitude towards the native.¹ And that attitude still persists, though its religious background may have become qualified by the stress of modern circumstances and by the developments of more secular *weltanschauungen* among certain sections. This persistence may be ascribed partly to that *vis inertiae* which becomes attached to any social attitude once it has come into existence, and partly to the fact that it still continues to serve the same ends. It is now not religion but civilization, not the heathen but the individual of inferior intelligence, not the Christian but the man with the white skin, that reflects the dividing tendency of the traditional attitude and that leads to the same group exclusiveness and the same differential treatment of one group at the expense of, and often by inflicting a grave injustice upon, members of the other group.²

Lengthy and close contact with the raw or untutored native who always has been, and still is to an overwhelming degree, in a position of complete subordination, has established modes of social adjustment and methods of treatment of the 'Kaffir' by the white man which are well illustrated by the behaviour of members of the European police force, the great majority of whom are recruited from the backveld or country districts of the Union, where frontier tradition so far as the attitude towards the native is concerned still survives in its crudest form.³ The frequent cases of violent physical treatment which are such a feature of the relations between white and black in the country districts, and the ridiculous verdicts of the European jurors when white men are charged with assault or homicide of natives in their employ, are

¹ Compare A. J. Toynbee, 'The Protestant Background of our Modern Western Race-feeling', *op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 211-26.

² For this aspect of race relations, see *Caliban in Africa*, by L. Barnes. Also reports of Joint Councils of Natives and Europeans, and of the Institute of Race Relations.

³ Reports, *passim*, and leading article in *The Star*, Oct. 31, 1930.

only another example of the same attitude towards the native.¹ The readiness with which many Europeans are prepared to use fire-arms for the purpose of intimidating natives is well illustrated by a recent case which was reported as follows in the daily press.

'A young farmer of the Pietersburg district, Jacobus Cornelius Burger, appeared in the Magistrate's Court this morning on a charge of assault with the intention to do grievous bodily harm to a native named Solomon, by shooting him in the leg on January 18th. . . . The magistrate said that the position of the wound was not consistent with its having been received by a man lying down. He had, therefore, no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that Burger had deliberately fired at the native, but this did not mean that he intended to hit him. "There is a great deal too much of this indiscriminate firing by Europeans at natives," said the Magistrate, "and it is high time that Europeans realized that they will have to pay the penalty for that sort of thing." Burger was fined £15 or one month's imprisonment.'²

The comments of the magistrate on the bench show that such cases are not mere isolated exceptions, but that they occur with sufficient frequency to justify the generalization that they reflect a widespread attitude towards the native on the part of not an inconsiderable section of the European community. On the other hand, the tradition and practice of lynching which is such a terrible feature of racial contacts between white and black in certain States of North America are entirely unknown in South Africa, nor has a single case of such mass murder ever occurred in this country.

The same attitude which regards the native as a member of an alien and inferior group, so that any treatment of him on a basis of even approximate equality to the European appears to be contrary, not merely to the laws of God, but also to the laws of Nature, not to speak of the laws of Man, constantly appears in the numerous utterances of public men which are reported from time to time in the press. Thus, at a Congress of one branch of the Dutch Church in the Transvaal

'the Rev. Mr. Coetzee moved as an unopposed motion that the Congress express its strong disapproval of the recent happenings at Fort Hare College, where students from the leading universities in the Union lived for some days under the same roof with natives, ate together, played together and took communion together. Such conduct was directly in conflict with the whole tradition of the people and he did not know that they could express themselves too strongly upon the matter. The motion was unanimously adopted.'³

¹ Compare comments by judges upon such verdicts, for example that by Mr. Justice de Waal in a case which appeared before the Circuit Court at Krugersdorp, Tvl, and reported in *The Star*, April 4, 1933.

² Report in *The Cape Times*, Feb. 19, 1935, and sub-editorial on the case in the same issue.

³ Report in *The Star*.

In the case of politicians, as we might expect, expressions of opinions are likely to be more extravagant, and the following two cases are very typical.

'Last night a public meeting was held in Parys Town Hall (O.F.S.) to obtain property owners' sanction for a loan of £1,000 to build a school for natives at the location. Loans for such purposes are granted from an Imperial fund of £26,000 instituted by the Milner Regime for education in the Free State. . . . The Director of Education and the Chief Inspector of Native Schools both addressed the meeting and explained that the white population were not being called upon to contribute a single penny. The law, however, provided that the consent of the property owners must be obtained. There was strong opposition, the leader being Mr. E. A. Conroy, M.P. for Hoopstad, who resides at Parys. He said he was totally opposed to the principle of educating natives, for God had placed the Blacks in South Africa to serve the Whites. On being put to the vote the motion to borrow the money was lost by 10 votes. A secret ballot was demanded and will be held at a later date.'

On another occasion,

'Colonel Terreblanche, M.P., spoke at the meeting and declared that bishops and lords and leaders of the people in Britain had pronounced the scandalous doctrine that the interests of the natives should be treated as being equally as important as those of the whites (cries of "Shame"). It was unthinkable that the native should be on a 50-50 basis with the white. Mr. Pirow was a man who stood against this abominable doctrine, and he deserved and would get the united support of the people.'

4. *Habit and Conditioning*

'The role of habit in fostering group prejudice has never received that degree of attention which its importance deserves in a study of the psychological factors that underlie such prejudice. As a member of a particular group, the individual has become conditioned, through constant familiarity, to a wide range of social situations including the behaviour of others, which are dealt with on the basis of past experience and by means of well-established *habits of response*. The function of habit in facilitating response, in enabling it to take place with a minimum of effort on the part of the individual, makes each habit of the individual a source of satisfying adaptation to a particular situation or kind of situation. Hence, the tendency of the individual to cling to his habits, to refrain from changing or modifying his habits in any way, unless he is obliged to do so. The momentum or dynamic quality which habits acquire in their own right is well illustrated by the difficulty

¹ Report in *The Star*.

which an individual experiences in giving up any particular habit. The obstinacy of a 'bad' habit in this respect is notorious, and even a harmless habit may reveal a persistency which a strict adherence to William James's famous rules for the formation of a new or different habit will not easily overcome.

Since habits are, as a rule, fairly specific forms of response to specific situations, the absence of the usual kind of situation will lead to delay or failure of the appropriate response. If we add to these effects the effort required to make a response to the new or different situation, even if it is only a response that differs to a mild degree from the usual response, we have all the conditions necessary to excite in the individual those emotional stresses and strains which may vary from a feeling of mild discomfort to an intense and highly unpleasant emotional reaction. Any variation in the situation correlated with a specific habit of response beyond a certain degree which is determined by the specificity of the habit, will involve the individual in a conflict of incompatible impulses; and the greater the variation of which the limiting case is an entirely novel or unfamiliar situation, the greater will that conflict tend to be. Any interference, therefore, with those social habits or customs of a group which find expression in the behaviour of its individual members is bound to arouse resentment according to the degree to which the habit in question has become part of the routine of social life or is based upon some fundamental social attitude.¹

The significance for our theme of these characteristics of habit is twofold. In the first place, every group in the sense in which we have been using that term has developed a highly complex system of social habits which are common to all its individual members. In their social contacts and interactions with one another, these habits are constantly being brought into play so that social intercourse becomes a smooth and effortless functioning of well-established habits—a fact which, incidentally, also provides such intercourse with an additional source of satisfaction. It is no exaggeration to claim for the social habits that they constitute by far the major proportion of the social life and activities of the group. To what an extent these habits have come to be taken for granted, even with regard to the more trivial affairs of everyday life, may be illustrated by such a simple example as the difference in the 'knife and fork' behaviour of English and Americans. While the former ply knife and fork in combination throughout the meal, the latter use them together at only one stage for the purpose of cutting up the food and for the rest rely upon the aid of the fork alone. To

¹ Compare the principle of British rule in India which has always tried to avoid any such interference.

the Englishman this behaviour on the part of the American appears disconcerting because unusual, and no doubt the American is affected in the same way by the corresponding behaviour of the Englishman. That whole domain of social life which we call manners is nothing but an elaborate code of habits which enable members of the same group to establish social contact freely and easily on the same common basis and to know what to expect of one another.

In the second place, the social habits of a group in addition to providing a common meeting-ground also come to serve as social norms or standards for the behaviour of individual members. The normal in the sense of most frequent or usual sooner or later becomes the normal in the sense of that which is expected of the individual and so, by a psychologically inevitable transition, the norm or standard to which the individual ought to conform. Social approval and disapproval mark the distinction between behaviour which does, and does not, so conform—a distinction which lies at the root of the individual sense of right and wrong.

When members of two social groups whose social habits and ways of life differ widely are brought into social contact with one another, we may expect to find either recoil and withdrawal, leading to segregation of the two groups or a reduction of social contact to the very minimum possible under the circumstances. In both cases we shall have reciprocal dislike and intolerance and a greater tendency towards group exclusiveness, particularly where one group regards itself for various reasons as superior to the other group. A striking illustration of this tendency at work and the results to which it has led is afforded by the position of the European or English non-official community in India. 'This community of approximately 100,000 individuals, including men, women, and children out of a total population of 350 millions, is, according to a recent description of them,' 'an extraordinarily self-contained community'. Quite literally, they live in a psychologically tight compartment, since social contacts and intercourse, such as they practise among themselves, cannot be extended so as to include those Indians who, in the Indian community, occupy a status equal, and even superior to, their own. Even when goodwill and a desire for more intimate social contacts exist, the difficulties due to the widely different social organization and habits of the two groups make it impossible. Thus:

'The European woman aspires to an equality with her men-folk; the Hindu woman who worships her husband as a god, would think it

¹ 'The 100,000 and their Neighbours', by one of the Hundred Thousand, *The New Statesman and Nation*, Jan. 5, 1935

presumption to eat at table with him, while to allow herself to be served before him, or to express an opinion contrary to his, would be unthinkable. . . . Intercourse between Europeans and Indian men is possible, between Europeans and Indian women it is often embarrassingly difficult even when the language obstacle is overcome; each sees life from so different an angle that it is hard to find points of contact or establish community of tastes. Again where European men and women foregather in India, dancing is almost inevitable. But Indians do not dance in couples and dancing anyway is left to the professional woman of low class. . . . Even meal-times and table manners differ. The Indian lunches about 11 or 12 and dines about 9 or 10; he prefers to sit on the floor rather than on a chair; he finds it repugnant to eat with a knife and fork that another may use after him, and will use his fingers in preference, much to the disgust of the European. Thus a multiplicity of apparently insignificant differences in manners, social organization, and religious observances render exchange of hospitality difficult if not uncongenial.'

The foregoing account reveals one aspect of the psychological barriers which may keep individual members of different groups at a distance from one another, although there may be no difference in their social status and very little to choose between the levels reached by their respective civilizations. Even the superficial differences of physical appearance may give rise to emotional reactions which are due to the individual having become conditioned to the kind of physical appearance characteristic of members of his own group. The effects upon a Chinese peasant of his first sight of an American missionary, as described in the following passage, only differ in degree and not in kind from the effects which still persist as the result of marked differences in physical appearance even when the immediate effects due to novelty have disappeared:

'This man [the missionary] had eyes as blue as ice and a hairy face and when he gave the paper to Wang Lung, it was seen that his hands were also hairy and red-skinned. He had, moreover, a great nose projecting beyond his cheeks like a prow beyond the sides of a ship and Wang Lung, although frightened to take anything from his hand, was more frightened to refuse, seeing the man's strange eyes and fearful face.'

This dislike of the unlike, this tendency to avoid the unfamiliar, to disapprove and condemn as abnormal any departure from the accustomed, are universal features of social contacts between members of different groups in whatever context they may occur; and they constitute one of the most prolific sources of group prejudice. In the South African context, and with regard to the social contacts between white and black as members of two widely

¹ Pearl Buck, *The Good Earth*, p. 117.

divergent groups who at the present time occupy a very different social status relative to one another, any kind of social contact on a basis of genuine social equality is quite out of the question. For the representative European, even although his attitude towards the native may be favourable, the Bantu are literally a *terra incognita* of which he is quite content to remain in ignorance. Since he has become conditioned to one set of social situations in which the native is always found occupying an inferior status, he proceeds in his contacts with the native to deal with him in accordance with the social habits of his own group. The difference in the physical appearance, behaviour, and habits of the native, as a member of a socially inferior group, develop an attitude of aloofness and superiority on the part of the European. Not for him to take his turn after a native in a queue at the railway station, bank, or post office, or to travel in third-class carriages on a train journey, or to attend the same places of entertainment, or to be served at the same restaurant (although natives travelling on the railway in specially reserved first- and second-class compartments may be provided with a meal in the restaurant car, at the discretion of the chief steward and after the European passengers have been served), or to shop at the same establishments. The native and all his ways are relegated to a subordinate position, and social contacts are reduced to the minimum required to make the social structure function. Any closer or more intimate contact either bewilders or irritates the European, who concludes that the native must have a different and, therefore, an inferior mentality to his own.¹

The association between the native and his status has led to the development of a wide range of conditioned reactions on the part of the European. The term 'Kaffir', which is still in widespread use (especially in Afrikaans), has become the conditioned stimulus to a great variety of emotional or visceral reactions to situations in which the native appears in some form or other and always in a derogatory sense. Since the prevailing social habits and attitudes all presuppose this association, they necessarily continue to foster it. Although resolute efforts are being made in more enlightened circles to break down the association, the process of unconditioning is likely to be a lengthy one, and for some time to come of a purely superficial nature so far as the bulk of the European population is concerned. The fact that there is a small, though appreciable, development of a class of educated natives while, on the other hand,

¹ The statement 'I think that the native has a different mentality from that of the white man' was so frequently endorsed, both by those whose attitudes were favourable towards the native as well as by those whose attitudes were unfavourable as measured by the scale, that it had to be rejected on the ground that it did not sufficiently discriminate between widely differing attitudes.

whites are being employed on an increasing scale in manual work, such as road making and repair, which until a few years ago was only performed by natives, appears to show that the beginnings of such a process are already at work. It is as though the unconditioned stimulus, in this case the status of inferiority, were no longer regularly and constantly present together with the conditioned stimulus, in this case the native, to which the conditioned response has come to be attached in the past. We know as a matter of experimental fact that in the classical process of conditioning, as illustrated by the original experiments of Pavlov, any failure or irregularity in the application of the unconditioned stimulus during the process very greatly increases the difficulty of establishing the required association, while even after the conditioned response has been established the unconditioned stimulus must from time to time reinforce the conditioned stimulus, otherwise the response fails.

But the conditioned habit of response which is in question is obviously a far more complicated affair than the simple conditioned reflex activity of the Pavlovian dog, and the process of conditioning, therefore, in the two cases, may only resemble one another in a purely formal way. The experiments of M. C. Jones and others on the process of 'unconditioning' an emotional response¹ have shown that such a reverse process takes place very gradually and is only possible when the conditions under which it occurs are very carefully controlled. The new stimulus whose positive response is to displace the conditioned negative response must be uniform in its occurrence and prepotent in its effect if the existing association is to be broken. Neither of these two conditions is likely to be fulfilled in South Africa within any determinate period of time so long as the present social system endures, in which, broadly speaking, a minority of whites is striving to maintain itself at the apex of a pyramid, the base of which is composed of a majority of blacks. In such a case, we may well inquire whether the increasing improvement in the status of a minority of the natives will provide a sufficiently potent stimulus to neutralize the effects of the present system. In order to do so, the stimulus provided by this minority would have to become prepotent, that is, it would have to give rise to effects which are more intense or more satisfying than those which are being produced by the existing social system. Otherwise the improvement in status may only have a qualifying

¹ M. C. Jones, 'Conditioning and Unconditioning Emotions in Infants', *Childhood Education*, 1925, 1, 317-22. Also J. B. Watson, 'Recent Experiments on How We Lose and Change our Emotional Equipment', *Psychologies of 1925*, 59-82.

effect, or may have a directly opposite effect to that which might be expected on *a priori* grounds, by appearing as a threat against the existing status of the whites.

5. *Skin-colour and Physical Contact*¹

Of all the factors that play a part in affecting the attitude of the white man (and woman) to the black, none is more potent and more complex in its operation than that difference in skin pigmentation which owes its existence originally to the differential effect of climate, and more particularly to the sun's rays, upon the human skin.² It appears almost like a stroke of irony on the part of Nature (or of Fate) that what is literally a superficial, and to some extent a fugitive, difference from a biological point of view should have come to serve as the most effective psychological criterion that could have been devised for distinguishing groups from one another. Differences of social heritage, of religion, of culture, of social or economic status that have played, and still do play, a part in distinguishing between groups and classes are barriers that may be overcome, but an individual with a black skin, though he may be the equal, and even the superior, in those qualities that really count as measured by any moral or intellectual standard, still finds himself regarded by the dominant white group in South Africa as an outsider who may be tolerated, but who can never find acceptance as a member of that group, even as an *arriviste*. Where the physical difference is so obvious and so easily recognized as in the case of skin-colour, the black man is, in the eyes of the white, a marked man. He wears a livery that he cannot discard, though he may have discarded everything else that could possibly be regarded as a justification or excuse for his exclusion. And so the black man is forced to abandon the natural consequences of his own development, which in the case of any white man is absorption into the group by which he is accepted and of which he becomes a member. The black man must remain a member of the group to which he belongs by virtue of the colour of his skin, and even though the segregation between white and black may come in time to follow a vertical rather than a horizontal line, it nevertheless remains a segregation, a compromise and not a genuine solution of the problem created by the existence of two such groups in close and intimate contact with one another.

It is because such a genuine solution, which can only come about through miscegenation, appears to be out of the question that the

¹ See replies to questionnaire, especially Items 17 and 18, pp. 273-4.

² For the origins of the differences in skin-colour and the biological functions of these differences, see two articles by L. W. Lyde, 'Skin Colour', *The Spectator*, May 16, 1931 and 'Concomitants of Skin Colour', *ibid.*, Aug. 22, 1931.

difference in skin-colour, which is of such little intrinsic importance, becomes psychologically significant. The most typical expression of the group attitude of the representative South African, whether English- or Afrikaans-speaking, is a colour prejudice in a form so intense and apparently so irrational that it must appear positively ridiculous to any one whose own group attitudes have been shaped by some other social environment or taken some other form. To dismiss it as a mere prejudice, however, would be psychologically inept; to expose its irrationalities, of which there are many, is psychologically futile, since it cannot be affected by logic, argument, or rational thought. Like a neurotic symptom, it may be driven out of one position only to reappear in another.

In the South African context the distinction of colour plays many parts. Economically, politically, and socially it is at one and the same time the simplest, most effective, and most consistent criterion of group membership. Hence the tendency to emphasize the difference in skin-colour, to respond in terms of white and black which represent opposite extremes of brightness. Though the skin-colour in the one case is actually a kind of 'distressed' pink and in the other case a brown or dark-brown hue, the *Tendenz zur Prägnanz* will admit no intermediate shades to qualify its absolute opposition of the two skin-colours. Thought as well as action in the moral sphere involves less effort when everything can be recognized as right or wrong, good or bad. In the same way, when all men can be divided into the white or the black, the sheep or the goats, the social adjustments required to deal with them become a matter of simple conditioning. A white man as a member of the in-group excites one set of ready-made adjustments, a black man as a member of the out-group excites another set of ready-made adjustments. Each individual becomes the representative of a type with its own peculiar qualities, and once again we have that bi-model distribution of white and black into two distinct and opposed types as a result of the dichotomizing tendency, so dear to the mind working at a primitive and emotionally toned level of thought. Hence the inability to tolerate any overlapping which may blur the distinction of a clear-cut and emotionally satisfying and pragmatically convenient division. Educated and civilized men of colour are an anomaly which threatens the existing basis of distinction, and as such are more than likely to become the objects of hostility. They are not true to type, since they fail to conform to the stereotype of the black man which exists in the white man's mind and which controls his behaviour. For the same reason, the 'half-caste' who belongs to neither of the two mutually exclusive groups, membership of which is determined by birth,

finds himself occupying a precarious, intermediate position between the two groups. His very existence is an offence to the white man, not only on account of the infection of the taint of 'black' blood, but also because he upsets the existing caste system based upon the palpable difference in skin-colour. Since in the case of the 'coloured' person that difference is not so obvious, it tends to excite conflicting tendencies which confuse and irritate the white man. The way in which such an interference with the normal habits of adjustment, based upon the distinction between white and black, takes place, can readily be illustrated by the first reactions of a visitor from the north at the sight of the Cape Coloured whom he meets at the Cape.¹

When social contact between individuals is as frequent and as direct as it is in the case of members of the white and black groups, differences in skin-colour as well as in other physical and, especially, facial features are of considerable importance in affecting their attitudes towards one another. The topography of the face—eyes, nose, mouth, chin—the play of facial muscles as in smiling, laughing, frowning, the changes in skin-colour as in blushing and blanching, all serve to single out the face as the most expressive and most sensitive social stimulus in direct social contacts. Sufficient experimental evidence has been accumulated to show that both the expression and recognition of emotion are highly conventionalized and conditioned by past experience, so that the 'language' of the face, like any other form of language, is not an original form of behaviour but one that must be learned and practised, if it is to be properly made use of and understood. In his face-to-face contacts with members of his group, the white man has become accustomed to a variety of facial patterns whose social stimulus value is plain and unambiguous. In his dealings with men of colour, however, he may find differences and variations in pattern that affect his recognition of facial expression and of emotional expression in general. Since experimental evidence on this point is lacking, we can only suggest certain possibilities. Thus the absence of any marked changes in colour, as in blushing, and the homogeneous colour tone with little or no light or shade and with its black or dark eyes, gives an expression of uniformity to the face of the black

¹ The experience of the present writer may be taken as an illustration. Born and bred in the Western Province at a time when the 'Kaffir' was an object of wonder, he had developed the prevailing attitude to the Cape Coloured. Residence in the Transvaal has led to a new set of adjustments to the native, and, in spite of his early experience at the Cape, he finds that on his periodical visits the first sight of a Cape Coloured person who is not definitely a 'black' man as is the native, and not definitely a 'white' man as is the European, is always accompanied by a slight shock of surprise.

man which the white man may find puzzling and disconcerting. It may be this lack of variety in facial colouring from the white man's point of view which has led one observer to speak of 'the shining black mask they wear, it does not show a ripple of change, they are sphinxes'.¹ Although in some respects the face of the native appears to be less expressive, there are, of course, other respects in which it appears more expressive, as we see in the flashing or dazzling smile which is due to the contrast effect of white teeth and dark or black skin.

But there are other, and psychologically, far more significant ways in which the marked difference in skin-colour affects the attitude of the white man to the black in their immediate social contacts with one another. The almost universal association of the black skin with dirt causes any kind of physical contact and even physical proximity, in the most conventional situations, to excite emotional reactions of shrinking and aversion in the unreflective white person. We may surmise that these frequently violent emotional reactions are over-determined and that a great variety of different factors, conscious as well as unconscious, are at work in determining the characteristic attitude to the 'dirtiness' of the black skin. The most obvious of these factors is, of course, the association of the native with all kinds of manual or 'kaffir' work, and with the conditions under which he is often obliged to live and clothe himself in towns and villages. On a white skin a dirty mark is a dark or black mark, so that the skin-colour of a dark or black-skinned person very readily gives rise to the impression of dirtiness. It was undoubtedly this impression that led the young daughter of the writer at the age of 3½ years to announce to her mother that 'the little black nanny next door [with whom she had been playing] was dirty all over—on her arms and legs and even on her tummy'. White children at this age and for several years to come certainly display no aversion to physical contact such as we find displayed by the white adult—a difference in attitude that may be partly explained by the fact that children, and especially very young children, have no aversion to dirt as such. It is an attitude that has to be acquired, partly by the repression of original interests and partly by reaction formation, but, once acquired, it very definitely, at any rate in the South African context, comes to embrace the man with the black skin as well.

¹ Quoted by T. Adams in *America's Tragedy*, p. 393. 'The very familiar face of a European friend may be changed out of all recognition by being blackened or even dyed a dark colour.'

THE UNCONSCIOUS IN ACTION¹1. *Repulsion and the Unconscious*

IN this final chapter we propose to consider what influence the Unconscious, as understood in the Freudian or strictly psycho-analytic sense, may have upon determining the race attitude of the individual, with special reference to the attitude of the European towards the native. If we are to take the concept of the Unconscious seriously, then it follows that it must have some effect, and a profound effect, in the determination of the race or group attitude in question. In any comprehensive treatment, the psycho-analytic point of view is at least entitled to a hearing, and some attempt, therefore, however inadequate, must be made to explore the possibilities that appear to follow as corollaries of general psycho-analytic theory when applied to our problem. In such an attempt we are less concerned about arriving at definite conclusions, which may merely give the impression of undue dogmatism, than we are about finding out what effects may reasonably be regarded, in the light of psycho-analytic theory, to be the result of factors at work at the unconscious, or more primitive, levels of the individual mind. The psychology of the Unconscious has done so much to illuminate other fields of human behaviour that we cannot afford to ignore it in our own field. As a preliminary experiment, therefore, in applied psycho-analysis the attempt deserves to be made.

In the discussion on group psychology we saw to what a large extent the social attitude of the individual towards other individuals is affected by the fact that they are, or are not, members of the same group to which he belongs. But over and above this fact of general group psychology, which itself involves a number of unconscious factors, there is the further fact that we are here dealing not only with a particular case to which the general principles of group psychology appear to be peculiarly applicable, but also with a special set of circumstances which bring into play additional factors of an unconscious kind which are not, as a rule, operative in the behaviour of individuals as members of some group or other. It is these additional factors, distinguishing the race attitude of the European in South Africa as a very special kind of group attitude, which makes it necessary to devote further attention to it from a psycho-analytic point of view.

In the preceding chapter we dealt with those aspects of the group

¹ Title originally used by Barbara Low for her book: *The Unconscious in Action*.

attitude which are accessible to a superficial analysis, since they are for the most part operative at the conscious or near-conscious levels of the mind. They are factors, in other words, that are open to introspection and which, the individual would be prepared to admit, do play a part in determining, if not his own attitude, then, at any rate, the attitude of some other individual. They may be factors that the individual considers ought not to affect his attitude, with the result that there is often a curious lag at the conscious level between the factors that actually do determine his behaviour and those to which, on moral or rational grounds, the individual endeavours to adhere in his attitude and behaviour towards the native. The existence of this lag, due to factors that represent an earlier, unreflective, and less intellectualized attitude, may appear, especially in a crisis situation, in a way that is often quite unanticipated by the individual himself. As an example, we might take the case of a student at the university well known for his strongly favourable attitude towards the native, who once confessed to the writer that, when present at a meeting attended by both Europeans and natives, at which feeling between the two sections ran high, leading finally to an open expression of antagonism on the part of some of the natives present, he immediately felt drawn to the side of the Europeans over against the natives as the object of hostility.

In such cases the conscious conflict between incompatible attitudes, or between earlier and later developments of the same attitude, is a phenomenon which may appear wherever there is progress from a lower to a higher plane of conduct. The individual may be fully conscious of the conflicting factors determining his attitude and even go so far as to analyse and identify them. But, in addition, there may be factors of which the individual himself is totally unconscious and of which he never can become conscious because they have undergone repression. It is with some of these factors which, when they are brought to the attention of the individual, are rejected as absurd and fantastical, or as disgusting and immoral, that we are to deal in this chapter. Since the forms in which these factors find expression are of a disguised and indirect kind, the aim of which is to conceal their real nature from the individual himself, they are probably not less but more potent than those factors which are found to play a part of the upper, superficial, or conscious levels of the mind. In fact, complex as the race attitude has already proved itself to be, it may turn out to be even more complex than appears at first sight, when all its determining factors, unconscious as well as conscious, are taken into consideration.

In the first place, we may consider once again, from our present

point of view, the significance of the difference in skin-colour between the two racial groups. We have seen that the very frequent conscious association between dirt and the dark skin of the native which may appear at a very early age only becomes really effective in determining the individual's attitude when the child's original interest in dirt has undergone repression and become succeeded by a reaction formation. Since an interest in dirt is itself, according to psycho-analytic theory, derived from a primitive anal interest in faeces, we can conjecture that the very strong repulsion amounting almost to a phobia to which so many confess merely at the idea of contact with the black skin of the native is in such cases conditioned by the reaction formation of disgust and aversion to faeces themselves. Where the repulsion is reinforced by the unpleasant odour or smell of the native to which some, though by no means all, Europeans are sensitive, it seems almost certain that in such cases the unconscious association between the 'dirty' skin of the native and faeces is being brought into play in an even more positive way. Thus contact with the native skin is defiling, it leaves behind a taint, and the more intimate the contact the greater is the repulsion.

In the second place, the difference between the dark or black skin of the native and the light or white skin of the European may have a symbolic significance which is largely unconscious in origin. We have seen how this difference in skin-colour tends to be converted into an opposition with white at the one end of the brightness series and black at the other. Under such circumstances, white and black become charged with an emotional significance which is out of all proportion to their intrinsic significance in immediate sensory experience. They become symbolic of ideas which represent some of the most primitive and therefore deep-rooted unconscious activities of the human mind. In this sense they may be compared with Jung's archetypes, universal categories which reflect the outlook and attitude of primitive (racial) mind towards the universe. From this point of view, it is of considerable interest to note that while all colours are, or may be, symbolic, white and black as symbols are distinguished by the fact that their symbolic meanings are almost universal and invariably opposed to one another. Compared with the complexity, variety, and ambiguity of colour or chromatic symbolism, the symbolism of white and black is simple, uniform, and unambiguous;¹ and for that reason much more effective and powerful in its influence upon the mind.

There is no need to dwell on the sinister connotation of black

¹ See the article on 'Color Symbolism' by A. E. Evans in *The Psychoanalytic Review*, vol. vi, 1919.

as a symbol.¹ Wherever we turn, in folk-lore or fairy-tale, in religious and superstitious beliefs, in all the ideas of primitive or civilized man, we find black symbolic of death, evil, and misfortune in some form or another. Fear of darkness may be the 'inborn heritage of a defenceless animal of arboreal ancestry and with a light adapted eye such as we happen to be',² and, from this point of view, the transition from the fear of darkness to the sinister connotation of black may seem to provide a simple explanation of its symbolic significance. The existence of such an original fear is, however, very doubtful and does not appear to be displayed by very young children. But it is highly probable that the fear of darkness is readily acquired because of the feeling of helplessness and insecurity which it induces in an animal with photopic vision; a feeling which is due partly to the blotting out at night of familiar objects and situations so that the established habits of response developed under daylight conditions cannot be brought into play, and partly to the fact that the social life of the group of which the individual is a member is brought to a standstill and the individual for the time being loses touch with the group. Thus, quite apart from any actual objective causes of this fear due to direct conditioning—causes which may vary from individual to individual—there may also be factors linked up in common experience with the influence upon behaviour of the difference between day and night, between light and darkness, which are universal in their effect upon the human mind, and which may, therefore, account for some of the symbolic significance attached to white and black.

In any case, the effects of language, of social practice, and of the social heritage generally, are in themselves sufficient to account for the parts played by white and black as symbols, though not necessarily for the inward significance of the symbolism itself. From the psycho-analytic point of view, the real origin and meaning of black as a symbol of death, evil, and misfortune remain unknown to the conscious mind, since it represents repressed or unconscious material. But whatever the factors at work either at the conscious or unconscious levels of the mind, the fact remains that black, both in a literal and in a metaphorical or 'cryptophorical' sense, offers the sharpest possible contrast to white—a contrast so great that it invariably finds expression in a direct opposition between the two. In such a context, the black man, the colour of whose skin so obviously marks him off, must necessarily share to some extent in that *odium psychologicum* which is aroused by the colour

¹ See the article, 'The Color Question from a Psychoanalytic Standpoint', by O. A. R. Berkeley-Hill in the *Psychoanalytic Review*, vol. xi, 1924.

² Wood Jones and S. D. Porteus, *The Matrix of the Mind*, p. 274.

black as symbol, especially when in contact with a race whose skin-colour places it at the other end of the brightness scale.

In the third place, the black man, who has hitherto always been identified with the savage or uncivilized person (so much so that 'black man' and 'savage' are in popular speech synonymous expressions), is regarded as living a life which is largely free from the conventions and restrictions of the civilized or white person's life. In order to conform to the demands of his social environment, the white man has to repress those animal or primitive impulses which he believes find free expression in the behaviour of the black man or savage. Of these impulses, the erotic or sexual impulse, with its various component elements, is by far the most important. It is the impulse whose control and direction constitute one of the main problems in the life of the civilized individual. It involves a constant process of renunciation, that is, of repression, and the development of a censorship so rigid that it can be evaded in many cases only in the disguised forms of dreams and neurotic symptoms. In the case of the black man, where little or no repression of a similar kind is believed to exist, the instincts, and especially the sex instinct, are popularly considered to be uncontrolled and, in fact, uncontrollable. Towards one's own unconscious impulses the conscious attitude is one of hostility and repulsion. Under these circumstances the black man may readily come to represent in the mind of the white man that very aspect of his own Unconscious with which the latter is in a state of conflict. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the hostility that is felt on other grounds by the white man towards the black is reinforced by a hostility derived from a source of which the individual himself is quite unconscious and which he would probably be the first to repudiate.

To some extent this view appears to be confirmed by the differences in attitude, both of certain groups as wholes and of individuals, to which attention has often been drawn. The difference in attitude towards men and women of colour, for example, which are alleged to distinguish the Anglo-Saxon and the Latin groups may be due, in addition to a great variety of other causes, to a difference in their attitude towards sex, so that where a greater tolerance exists in the one case we may expect to find it correlated with a greater tolerance in the other. On the other hand, where social inhibitions and taboos severely restrict the gratification of sex appetites, we may anticipate a more severe colour-prejudice as the result of greater sex intolerance. In a Protestant, and more particularly in a Calvinistic and Puritanical, society where sex and sin are synonymous, the intolerance in both cases is likely to be the most intense of all. When we turn from the attitudes of groups

to the attitudes of individuals, there can be little doubt that the white prude, whether man or woman, is more than likely to be found displaying an intolerant or hostile attitude towards the native, since the very obsession with sex against which prudishness is a reaction formation may be expected to lead to such a result.

In the fourth place, we have little hesitation in concluding that the sinister connotation of the colour black, as a symbol, has one of its main roots in the Unconscious through the identification of blackness with the 'lower', the animal, or the sexually repressed side of man's nature. Black as a symbol of death, evil, and misfortune represents concretely the Unconscious in relation to the 'higher' nature of man, symbolized by white, which is the direct opposite of black and the symbol of life or immortality, of purity and chastity. This universal symbolic representation by white and black of opposing elements in the form of the higher and the lower, the good and the evil, life and death, heaven and hell, God and the devil, the powers of light and of darkness, which are everywhere in conflict with one another, must reflect some permanent and deep-seated division in the nature of man himself from which he can never escape, but which he may project on to the universe. In this context we might refer to that famous analogy of a man's life which we find in Plato,¹ where the white and black horses of the chariot represent the higher and lower sides of a man's nature—the white horse gentle and mild and civilized, the black horse unruly and vicious and savage. Upon the man with the black skin there is projected the evil which the white man refuses to acknowledge as part of his own nature, and the black man becomes the scapegoat of the white. Unlike the traditional scapegoat, however, he cannot be sent into the wilderness, out of sight and out of mind, so to speak, but must remain a constant reminder and, therefore, a constant object of hostility within the very white community itself.

2. *Attraction and the Unconscious*

In view of some of the contentions that have been advanced in the preceding section it certainly appears highly paradoxical, if not actually self-contradictory, to suggest that an object which excites repulsion should also, and at the same time, excite attraction. But this ambivalent attitude of attraction and repulsion towards the same object becomes more intelligible, when we bear in mind the nature of the primitive and unconscious mental processes with which we are dealing. Their lack of any organization or integration, their failure to deal adequately with the demands of reality, their tendency to seek the path of least resistance in pursuit of gratifica-

¹ *Phaedrus*, 253.

tion, may readily give rise to contradictory attitudes in which love and hate, attraction and repulsion, may coexist alongside one another. Where, as in this case, the hostility and repulsion are more in evidence, it is possible that they may also serve to conceal an attraction which springs from the same source in the Unconscious. Thus the object which excites repulsion will come to exercise an attraction as well, though the latter may appear in far more indirect and disguised forms owing to the greater repression at work.

The universal belief that natives indulge their sex appetites more freely and more promiscuously than do Europeans may, or may not, have some foundation in fact, but there can be little doubt about the effect of this belief upon the attitude of the representative European towards the native. Native life, native customs and practices and, above all, the sexual life of natives, exercise a perennial fascination upon the mind of the white man and woman. This 'call of the wild', this urge to return to nature, this tendency to regress to the unrestrained gratification of primitive man and woman, serves as a constant pull upon the civilized, or, more strictly speaking, partially civilized man and woman 'to go native' and to throw aside the restraints of civilization. In actual life, as well as in the 'wish' world of novel and drama, this theme is repeated with endless variations. The immense popularity during the post-war years of native, or negroid, music and dances in America and Europe was another expression of the same phenomenon. If, as we suggest, the attraction is derived from a sexual source, its influence will extend far beyond a directly sexual interest in the native. But, before we go on to deal with this aspect of the sexual factor and its influence upon the white man's attitude towards the native, a further consideration of the more directly sexual aspects is necessary in order to appreciate these indirect effects. Thus, in addition to the widespread belief that natives enjoy a freer sexual life, we also find a general belief to the effect that native men are more virile and sexually more potent than white men, while native women are more voluptuous and have more 'abandon' than white women. From the crudely sexual point of view, it would appear that the native female as well as the native male might exercise an even greater attraction upon the white man and white woman than partners of their own race—an attraction which would be still further enhanced by the lure of novelty and the very contrast in skin-colour. If we add to this the fact that, in many cases, men as well as women of a socially superior class find a more complete sexual gratification in intercourse with those who belong to a socially inferior and despised class, it is not surprising that the very idea of such intercourse between white and

black should appear as a form of perversion and, therefore, revolting to the normal white man and white woman.

There is sufficient evidence on record to show that sexual intercourse between white and black, and more particularly between European men and native women, is of fairly frequent occurrence in spite of the strong social disapproval which it arouses, not only in the white community but among many members of the native community as well, while cases in which white women have seduced native men or boys are not unknown. Where, as in such cases, the sex factor threatens to override the barriers which are ultimately based upon the resistance to sex itself, social disapproval with its powerful sanctions is obviously not enough, and has had, in fact, in South Africa to be supplemented by a law according to which illicit or extra-marital sexual intercourse between white and black has been made a crime. We shall refer at a later stage to some of the psychological implications of this law, but as a subject of sociological inquiry the law and its operation should not be without interest in the light of the following newspaper report:

'According to present indications, the total of 82 contraventions of the Immorality Law in Pretoria during 1930 seems likely to be eclipsed this year by a fairly substantial margin. Each day since the New Year there has been some person charged in the Pretoria Magistrate's Court with immoral acts. On some days there have been two or three cases—there are a variety of charges and youths as well as European male adults, and native women are concerned.'

If the general point of view from which we have so far dealt with the problem of sexual attraction is accepted, then the indirect effects upon the attitudes of white men and women, apart altogether from the direct effects which are relatively simple and straightforward, of such an attraction are bound to be of considerable psychological significance. 'They may account to some extent, for example, for that morbid fear of miscegenation that pervades so much of the background of the European race attitude, and which sooner or later finds expression in the question: 'Do you want your daughter or your sister to marry a black man?'—one of the implications being that white women would have no hesitation in so doing and, in fact, would readily do so once there was genuine social equality between white and black. 'This obsession with race purity is, of course, so much rationalization, since its real aim is to keep sexuality in the form of a potentially superior sexual rival at bay. 'The idea of a white woman in the arms of a black man, especially if she is

¹ *Sunday Times*, Jan. 25, 1931. At a recent party conference the Prime Minister, General J. B. M. Hertzog, is reported to have said: 'Experience had shown that legislation alone was not sufficient to prevent social and other intercourse between the races and sexes' (*The Star*, Sept. 12, 1935).

there of her own free will, is enough to give rise to the most pronounced emotional reactions in the white man. Where it happens in real life, it can only be due to the fact that such women are completely abandoned to immorality, lacking any sense of decency and shame. Even a white prostitute who wished to be regarded as a respectable member of her profession would hardly stoop so low. That, at any rate, appears to be the intention of an article which appeared on the front page of a sensational weekly, since defunct, with the following headlines: 'White Women and Black Men—Horrible Sex Depravity in Johannesburg—English Girls go Native', and which proceeded to describe

'scenes of dreadful depravity—scenes in which low-class white sirens openly play Delilah to the blackest of black Samsons. These degraded white women are neither old nor ugly; neither sand rats nor of that dark-skinned European type which our self-satisfied citizens style Dagoes. On the contrary, they are very white women, and one of their native sweethearts declares them to be English!'

The article in question concludes with the following significant statement:

'We are not in the least concerned for the white women who would be harlots in any circumstances. It is the integrity of the white race which is at stake. *The Sjobok* calls upon the Authorities to take drastic steps for the immediate eradication of this deadly evil.'

The same effects, no doubt, also inflame the emotions excited by crimes of rape committed by natives against white women, while similar crimes of white men against native women are to a large extent either ignored or regarded with indifference.

In all such cases, the very excess of the emotional reactions aroused leads us to suspect that they are the results of factors which have nothing to do directly with the situation itself. Since the actual situation does not appear to justify such emotional violence, we are obliged to find some other explanation and to look for its source in the individual himself. The blend of anger, resentment, horror, and fear which is excited by these situations may be regarded as the reactions of a primitive jealousy, which was originally bound up with the child's attitudes towards its parents in the Oedipus situation. If, as appears to be the case, no individual ever completely escapes from the Oedipus complex, and if it still continues to affect his attitude to a greater or less degree as an adult, then the nature and the violence of the emotional reactions to which we have referred becomes far more intelligible. Whether the white woman voluntarily submits to the native or is raped by him, in both cases the Oedipus situation tends to be revived in its

¹ *The Sjobok*, Mar. 6, 1931.

most acute form, since the white woman represents the mother figure who either degrades herself or is sexually assaulted,¹ while the native represents the father figure who ousts the child. The same explanation may also account for that excessive concern for the chastity and honour of white women which every white man feels it incumbent upon himself to protect as though the women were unable or unwilling to do it for themselves—a concern which through association readily becomes displaced on to the white race where it becomes a demand for the preservation of race purity, race segregation, and the rest. The fixed idea that every native male prefers a white woman to one of his own kind springs partly from the same source, and partly from the projection of the white man's own sexual desires on to the native, nor is his belief likely to be shaken on this point even when he is assured, as an educated African recently put it, 'that the black man prefers his black Lizzie just as much as the white man prefers his white Lizzie'. The instillation of this belief also serves as a means of maintaining suspicion and hostility against the native, and in that way makes it more difficult for him to become a serious rival of the white man.¹

In conclusion, we would like to refer briefly to some of the deeper psychological implications of the Immorality Act. Its title is misleading, since it does not aim at extra-marital intercourse in general, but only at extra-marital intercourse between white and black. Nor does it prohibit intermarriage between white and black, since such marriage still remains legal in those provinces of the Union where it was possible before the Act was passed. Sexual intercourse, therefore, between white and black, provided it is legalized, is not affected. Only a certain very limited sphere of sexual intercourse in general falls within the scope of the law and, as such, becomes a criminal offence. The law was passed by a white legislature with little or no opposition, so that it may be regarded as a typical expression of the prevailing attitude of the white group. That it should have been considered necessary to pass such a law is itself a significant fact from our present point of view. The chief, if not the sole argument in its favour was that it would put a stop to miscegenation, that it would, in other words, preserve the purity of the white race and thereby maintain the present distinction based upon skin-colour between the white and black groups. Actually, in the light of what has been said, it might have been

¹ Sexual assault would, in such a case, be equivalent to the infantile idea of sexual intercourse.

² In a conversation with the writer, an educated African expressed the view that this belief on the part of the whites was the most serious stumbling-block in the way of an improvement in race relations that he had come across in his experience.

argued with some show of force that in so far as the effects of miscegenation are regarded as a threat against that distinction, they are more likely to enhance and strengthen it, since they lead not to a decrease but to an increase of colour consciousness. Again, the attempt to prohibit such intercourse, so far from discouraging it or protecting the individual against himself, might for some individuals merely serve to increase the temptation on the principle that 'forbidden fruits are sweetest'. To draw attention, as the Act does, to one sphere of sexual intercourse only in order to penalize it must serve to make the individual aware of a form of temptation of which he might otherwise never have become conscious, and, in so far as he is obliged to resist it, to make him even more intolerant in his attitude. The further argument, actually put forward by the Minister in charge of the Bill, that it would 'serve to protect the native woman' may be regarded as the crowning example of rationalization, behind which the unconscious motives of those who supported the Act were hidden.

To endeavour to disentangle all these motives would merely lead to a great deal of repetition, but there is one motive to which we would like to draw particular attention because of its relevance to our present theme. In any discussion on the matter, it is not the sexual intercourse itself, but the results of that intercourse in the form of coloured offspring that invariably are considered; and so uniformly is this the case that we appear to have before us an example of that unconscious mechanism known as displacement in which, as in the dream, the main accent is placed upon the emotionally less significant and, therefore, less disturbing element of the total situation. If those who advance the argument that illicit miscegenation is undesirable because of the mixed population to which it gives rise were consistent, then, provided that intercourse between white and black were not accompanied by conception, the sexual act itself should not be regarded as any more immoral than similar acts between white and white. But while, in the latter case, these are regarded as the private affair of the individuals concerned, at least so far as the law takes no cognizance of them, in the former case they are penalized irrespective of the consequences. In other words, the sexual act itself becomes a criminal offence according to the law. From the psycho-analytic point of view, it seems fairly clear that we are dealing with a demand for punishment which is motivated by unconscious factors. The white criminal in this case has done what other white men would like to do, or rather what their repressed impulses would like to do, and in so doing has made it more difficult for them to inhibit those impulses. Under such circumstances, punishment of the offender

serves not only to reassure the individual by reducing the temptation excited by the crime, but also strengthens the Super-Ego by reinforcing it with the support of an external authority. It is as though the individual were to say: 'What I do not allow myself must not be allowed others; if others are not called upon to pay for their violations of the law, then I shall not abide by my self-imposed restrictions.'¹

That this gratification which the individual is obliged to forgo may to some extent be compensated for by the pleasure of inflicting punishment upon those who have enjoyed such gratification is only another aspect of the same unconscious motive at work, which appears to be well illustrated by the following two reports.

"You have driven another nail into the coffin of South Africa" was the comment of the additional magistrate, Mr. A. H. Field, in sentencing Leslie Morris W—— this morning to three months' hard labour for having immoral relations with a native woman. The magistrate told W——, a well groomed young man, that unless the white man maintained his prestige in this country he was doomed, hence the reason for the Immorality Act."²

And again:

"Mr. B. I. Goldschmidt, at the Braakfontein Court, sentenced Rudolph M. B——, farmer of Rietbokvallei, to six months' imprisonment under the Immorality Act. Accused pleaded not guilty. Mr. Goldschmidt remarked that accused was a disgrace to the white race of this country. Helena Kiviele, native woman, said that she resided on accused's farm and had been convicted of having illicit relations with accused. "About Christmas, 1931," she said, "accused found me at the river and forcibly had relations with me and told me if I reported the incident he would shoot me."³

3. *The Problem of Anxiety*

From the state of anxiety with which the new-born infant faces life for the first time to the state of anxiety which is aroused by the approach of death, the individual is never completely free from recurrent, more or less prolonged, attacks of anxiety which may even pursue him into the world of dreams. From one point of view, a man's life may be regarded as an incessant struggle to escape from an anxiety which, like the Hound of Heaven, is always on his track. The measure of success which an individual achieves in warding off, coping with, or mastering the attacks of anxiety, and the devices which he may make use of in order to obtain security, are reflected in every aspect of his outlook and behaviour. They provide a clue to the understanding of individual attitudes, beliefs,

¹ F. Alexander and H. Staub, *The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public*, p. 214.

² *The Star*, Mar. 26, 1931. ³ *Sunday Times*, Oct. 29, 1933.

and character traits since, from this point of view, the very core of the total personality is built up round a centre of anxiety. Even when the individual has obtained a partial control over his external environment and to that extent secured himself against objective sources of anxiety, there still remain the subjective sources of anxiety in what may be described as the internal environment of his 'wish' world, with its strivings, frustrations, conflicts, and maladjustments, which are beyond conscious control and modification and from which flight, whether in reality or in imagination, is no escape except, perhaps, in the extreme cases of suicide and insanity. In this section we propose, briefly, to review some of these subjective sources of anxiety, to mention some of the ways in which the individual, both in a personal capacity and as a member of a group, endeavours to cope with this anxiety of subjective origin and, finally, to draw attention to some of its effects upon his attitude towards the native.

The primary and psychologically the most primitive form in which anxiety appears is as a reaction to the tension created by the delay or failure of an impulse or wish in obtaining gratification. The greater the tension, the more helpless does the plight of the individual become until, sooner or later, there occurs an outbreak of anxiety in the face of an intolerable situation. This form of anxiety is associated more particularly with the biological appetites, such as those of hunger and sex, and may be regarded as quite universal in its occurrence.

In the second place, once repression has taken place, so that the repressed impulses can no longer be gratified in their original or primitive form, we find that anxiety may be developed as a reaction to the threat of direct gratification of these primitive impulses. Thus any weakening of the repressive activity, any lowering of the barrier of repression below a certain level, which may enable the unconscious impulse to break through into consciousness by finding expression in a conscious idea and so revealing its real nature, will give rise to anxiety. We have seen that the attitude of the individual towards his own Unconscious is one of hostility, so that within the individual himself there exists a chronic conflict between the repressed and the repressing forces of the mind. Even a partial failure of the latter to maintain themselves against the former constitutes a serious threat, which may lead to their being overwhelmed by the unconscious impulses—hence, the recurrent attacks of anxiety when, as so often happens, the original repression has not been entirely successful and is not uniformly effective.

In the third place, the frustration and disappointment of the demands made by the individual's wishes upon the external

environment lead to the development of aggressive and hostile impulses which, fused with libidinal components, become directed on to external objects in the form of sadism. This fusion of the erotic with the aggressive impulses in the interests of the pleasure principle may help to relieve the subject from the rising tension of the thwarted libido, since such sadistic impulses provide one means of substitute gratification. But it also tends to increase anxiety, since the objects in the external environment are now endowed by way of projection with a similar sadism directed against the subject himself. Hence, a fresh access of anxiety induced by an external threat of a sadistic kind, and in its original form an anxiety due to a threat of mutilation and castration. The nature and origin of this external source of anxiety, which is actually the result of the individual's own projected hostility, show clearly that it is bound up with the Oedipus conflict and, in so far as that conflict has not been completely solved, it will continue to give rise to anxiety.

Finally, we may consider those forms of anxiety which are the result of the activity of the individual's Super-Ego or primitive unconscious conscience. The sense of guilt which is the direct result of this activity and which is experienced by the Ego as a vague fear or dread, as a feeling of anxiety for which there is no apparent cause, is brought about by the gratification of forbidden or repressed impulses. Since the Super-Ego makes no distinction between the actual gratification of these impulses or their gratification merely in idea or in disguised and distorted forms, the individual may suffer from a sense of guilt, even when, from the point of view of his more enlightened conscious conscience, there may be no reason for him to do so. The severity of the Super-Ego which represents the original parental authority, as it appears in its most drastic and formidable form in the Oedipus situation, is reinforced by the partial recoil of the sadistic impulses which come to be directed upon the Ego in the service of a punitive Super-Ego. The infliction of pain and suffering, the withdrawal of love, the punishment, privation, and prohibition which characterize Super-Ego activity are just what may have been anticipated in view of its origin and the role of the redirected sadistic impulses. In order to lessen the burden of his sense of guilt, the individual may refrain from the most harmless pleasurable activities or develop an exaggerated sense of duty, or even go so far as to inflict punishment and suffering upon himself (as well as upon others) in the attempt to expiate for transgressions of Super-Ego prohibition and to placate and forestall Super-Ego hostility.

In a broad and general sense it is this complex subjective and neurotic anxiety whose mastery constitutes the main problem with

which every individual must deal in some way or other. The attempts to ward it off may only be partially successful, but unless the individual gives up the struggle by a flight into insanity or by committing suicide he must sooner or later arrive at some kind of working compromise between the claims of the repressed impulses and the repressing forces of the mind that represent the social and moral claims of society. The underlying, unconscious conflict which is the ultimate source of all such anxiety may give rise to neurotic symptoms in the form of conversion hysteria, which represents a compromise between the repressed and the repressing forces, or to compulsion neurosis which represents a reinforcement of the repressing forces in the form of the stereotyped reaction formation as a kind of magical act, or to anxiety hysteria and phobia in which the anxiety is externalized by being projected on to the environment in general or on to some specific object or situation. None of these working compromises really work, for they are make-shifts which threaten to break down when the strain becomes too great, and which in the meantime entail a great deal of inconvenience and suffering to the individual. Other and more successful modes of dealing with the conflict are represented by various forms of sublimation, by achievements of one kind or another, by a more complete identification with the group, and by religion. The individual's whole character, together with its expression in attitude and conduct, may from this point of view be regarded as a kind of armament which has been developed as a protection against the threat from within.

When we turn to the sources of anxiety which may affect the race attitudes of members of the white community in South Africa towards the native, the most obvious appears to be the great numerical preponderance of black over white. The significance of this fact may be exaggerated, but it does excite emotional reactions in which vague fear and anxiety are conspicuous. As a consequence, the attitude in question is affected in a way which is not present in the case of attitudes towards other groups with which it has much in common, such as the attitudes towards the Cape Coloured and towards the Indians, both of whom are minority groups. Thus the fears of 'being swamped by blacks', of the 'rising tide of colour', of the differential fertility of white and black, which have led more than once to alarmist predictions even in responsible quarters, are all readily excited in minds that are prepared to accept them. How real the threat of the superior numbers of the native both within, and beyond, the borders of the Union is felt to be may be gathered from its influence upon the defence policy and the military organization of the country, which,

according to a recent declaration of the Minister of Defence, does not exclude the possibility of an armed conflict between white and black.¹ Military training and equipment, like so many other blessings of Western civilization, are so far as possible to remain a monopoly of the white man as the trustee of that civilization.

So much for the objective source of anxiety which, whatever its importance, can hardly be regarded as a sufficient explanation for the entire fund of anxiety, especially when, as at the present time, the supremacy of the white man is absolute. A remote contingency by itself could hardly be sufficient to have such a powerful effect unless it served at the same time as the conductor for anxiety derived from other, less obvious sources. Some of these have already been mentioned, and it is not improbable that contact between white and black may tend to aggravate them. Thus the past record of the white man's treatment of the native, as well as the present relations between the two groups, are not such that they can be regarded with entire equanimity even by the most self-complacent white person who is not completely blinded by race or colour prejudice. In that case the anxiety felt for the future of the white group may be partly the result of a fear of revenge on the part of the black man. The white man who projects his own hostility on to the black man comes to fear that hostility as a threat directed against himself. Bearing in mind what has already been said about the role of the black man in the white man's Unconscious, we may conclude that some of the hostility felt by the white man is of that sadistic kind in which a fusion of the aggressive and erotic impulses comes to be displaced upon the man with a black skin. In that case the hostility represents an indirect gratification of impulses which leads directly to the development of a sense of guilt or fear of punishment by the white man's own Super-Ego and hence to an increase in anxiety. But this increase in anxiety will only exacerbate hostility, so that we have a vicious circle in which hostility and anxiety, as alternately cause and effect, reinforce one another.² The more or less neurotic white man and woman, whose own internal conflicts are only partially overcome, tend to externalize and project them in the form of a conflict between white and black, so that the mental conflict of the individual becomes the paradigm for a racial conflict. Again, the black man who, according to popular belief, gratifies his impulses more freely than the white man, is an object of envy, and,

¹ Compare the speech of Mr. O. Pirow on the defence policy of the Union Government at a meeting of the Imperial Press Conference at Capetown, Feb. 5, 1935.

² 'Anxiety breeds hate; hate arouses anxiety; both together portend destruction.' E. Glover, *War, Sadism and Pacifism*, p. 25.

therefore, of hostility. Since he symbolizes the repressed impulses within the white man's own (black) Unconscious, such expressions as the 'rising tide of colour' and 'being swamped by the blacks' may have more than a merely rhetorical significance for the neurotic individual who finds them emotionally so disturbing. Hence, an anxiety which is induced, in the first place, by the pressure of repressed impulses comes to be attached to the black man or black group in the form of a typical phobia or anxiety hysteria.

In his attempt to deal with, and to master, an anxiety whose main sources are subjective, the white man employs the same mechanisms in his treatment of the native as are characteristic of the behaviour of the conventional neurotic. Thus we find displayed in the social attitudes of members of the white group towards the native those very features of aggression and repression, of segregation and isolation, of projection and phobia formation, which represent so many duplications of the defence mechanisms of the neurotic individual. The extra-individual conflicts between the two racial groups are but the intra-individual conflicts within the mind writ large, and until the latter are removed, reduced, or modified, they must continue to exercise their baleful influence upon the race relations and the race contacts of white and black in 'sunny' South Africa.

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